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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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SNAP SHOTS

Covering the Field of Politics and Economics at Home and Abroad.

At last the German people have found out what their Kaiser is fit for. He turns out to be an excellent upholsterer and decorator. His personal supervision of the work of upholstering the apartments of his royal guests from England, and decorating Unter den Linden meets with "unqualified applause from all social ranks." There is no man, however unfit for most things, but is fit for something. Pity that a good upholsterer and decorator has been spoiled to make a crazy Kaiser.

The heart of the lady, who wrote a book on "The Sinfulness of a Bachelor's Life" and who recently sent a copy "with the compliments of the author" to a bachelor magistrate in New York City, surely dances with joy at the news from Bulgaria. Hhe Bulgarian Sobranje has voted to tax bachelors over 30 years of age $2 yearly.

If the junketing trip around the world by "our Navy" did nothing more than bring to light a Qualtrough, it did well. The case of Qualtrough is "our Navy's" case. When the Captain of a battleship can so misdemean himself on duty, at a public place, it is a pretty sure sign that misconduct is not an exceptional thing among the personnel of "our Navy."

Ex-Attorney-General Griggs is of the opinion that $12,500 a year is "insufficient to meet the requirements of dignified living." The statement is made to encourage a raise of salaries for United States Judges. The workingman evidently is not expected to live a dignified life.

In the timely, and otherwise well-reasoned article by H. M. Hyndman, published elsewhere in this issue, entitled "The Labor Party and Direct Action," the author makes an unaccountable slip. Suppose, indeed, the Industrial Workers of the World "are not of this world yet." Is that a sufficient reason to ignore their necessity? The Socialist Republic is "not of this world yet." All the same Hyndman strains for its consummation.

The utter collapse of the anti-Japanese bills in the California and Oregon Legislatures of the Pacific coast, where the "masses" were supposed to be aflame for just such legislation, the collapse being accentuated by the thriling speech of Bishop, whose mother is an American Indian, leaves the Socialist party in the deservedly disreputable plight that political weathercocks ever land in. A party of principle stands by its colors, despite howls from the mob. Indeed, that is not the least important mission of a sound body. A body of fly-paper, on the contrary, ever on the alert to catch stray breezes, is bound to fall into the error of taking noise for substance. The noisy few on the Pacific slope raised a racket against the Japs; straw minds took fire, taking the racket for a "vast popular movement"; and the caterers after popularity landed flat on their backs. The secret is now out that there was no such "popular movement."

Simple Simon went a-fishing
For to catch a whale;
All the water he had got
Was in his mother's pail.

The deadlock in Wisconsin over the election of a Federal Senator notwithstanding the "direct nomination" plan is in operation in the State, reveals that all the charges made against the "indirect" system hold good with the "direct." Corruption, bossism, disregard of the public will—all these charges are now bandied about in "direct" Wisconsin just as they are in "indirect" New York. A popular expression, free from intimidation and corruption is incompatible with a social system in which the mass is kept pauperized, and in which, consequently, the keepers of the masses in poverty are themselves in perpetual danger from one another.

Winnipeg, Man., despatches announce the planning of a "new Socialist party" in the Canadian Northwest. The details are to the effect that there was "an animated discussion in which the Socialist element was denounced," whereupon the "new Socialist party" was launched.

"At headquarters there is a feeling that the mission will fail and that a strike will follow" is the news that comes from Indianapolis concerning the mission of President Tom Lewis of the United Mine Workers to interview President Baer of the anthracite operators on the new wage scale demanded by the anthracite miners. From which it looks as if the bituminous mine owners are re-engineering an anthracite strike in order to send up the price of bituminous coal.

Still another evidence is furnished by the February 9 despatches from Washington that capitalist government ownership of an industry leaves wage slavery untouched. Three postal employes, who are chiefs of Postal employes' organizations and who were "suspected of lobbying" in the interest of their organizations, were commanded by the Post Master General to show cause why they should not be dismissed. Worse than this no private corporation can do—if it does as much.

There is more than a color of truth, there is a strong color of fitness in the increasing rumor that the Secretary of the Treasury Cortelyou is to be made President of the Consolidated Gas Company. What can there be fitter than the promotion of the man, who opened the vaults of the Treasury for the Morgans to help themselves during the panic, to the headship of a corporation that for two years has been deliberately violating the law by charging for gas a price it was forbidden to charge?

The Educational Alliance, N. Y., a Jewish establishment endowed by Baron Hirsch, we are informed, and which regularly winks at the breach of each of the Ten Commandments thundered into the ear of Israel by Johovah from the top of Sinai—the Educational Alliance forbids its leaders of clubs of young girls to take their charges to meetings where women's suffrage is to be the subject of discussion. Verily the tiger will fight as ferociously in defence of a single hair of its mustache as he will in defence of his heartblood.

When Tim Campbell said "What's such a little thing as the Constitution between friends!" the sentiment was pounced upon by political Pharisees as a conclusive evidence of New York political rottenness. But what's that we hear from Washington? Constitutionally Senator Knox is not qualified for the Cabinet. The Senate has gone about to evade the Constitution, and a staid Republican Representative nodded approvingly observing: "What's the Constitution when it comes to Senatorial courtesy?"

French papers contain the information that in the inventory, recently taken of the several church properties, in which relics are included, there figure:

Four bodies and five heads of St. Basil;

Five bodies and two heads of St. Barbara;

Five bodies, six heads, seventeen arms, legs and hands of St. Andrew;

Twenty bodies of St. George;

Twenty bodies and twenty-six heads of St. Julian;

Thirty bodies of St. Pancras.

Mr. E. T. O'Loughlin of Brooklyn is either a very innocent or a very sarcastic man. He says Commissioner of Charities Hebberd—who draws $7,500; who, with his secretaries and immediate assistants takes $21,000 a year from the city; and who "sits in his plush-lined chair"—"ought to be ashamed of himself to say the bread-liners are 'a lot of loafers.'" Such language as Mr. O'Loughlin uses is either child-like innocence, or wicked sarcasm. What is a Commissioner of Charities there for but to be charitable unto himself? What are charities organizations but schemes for the charitably taking comfortable care of a lot of idle officials—themselves, their cousins, their sisters and their aunts?

It matters not a particle whether "the Senator from Michigan" was right in saying that the water ways treaty concluded with Canada was drawn up "in the interest of certain New York corporations," or whether "the Senator from Massachusetts" was right in pronouncing the statement "utterly false." The important fact is that the "clash in the Senate" gave one more black eye to the theory "you can not grow rich by legislation," and once more convicts the capitalist class out of its own mouth as buccaneers who could not stand a day without the prop and backing of "political government."

Bricklayers and Stone Masons' Union No. 1 of Grand Rapids, Mich., has stolen a march upon its Tackmakers fellow craft Union. The Grand Rapids Bricklayers and Stone Masons' Union has unanimously voted a membership card to Mrs. Nicholas Longworth in order that when the lady handles the trowel in laying the cornerstone of the new Post Office, the ceremony be performed by "Union Labor." Not quite so wide-awake was the Tackmakers' Union. It did not even make the lady ex post facto a "Unionist" she having evinced last summer marked dexterity in planting a tack "with mathematical precision" in the center of a chair in the visitors' gallery of the House of Representatives, and caused an elderly man who sat down in the chair to jump up with a screech.

A coincidence is the purely accidental occurrence of two events together, or in succession. The effect of law is seen when the two events depend upon each other or upon some great underlying cause. It is no coincidence, but the outcome of physical law, that a newsboy in Jersey who was stricken blind was found to be the fourth of his family to need hospital care, while at the same time, in the Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia floods it was mainly Negroes who lost their lives. The great underlying cause in both cases was poverty: the newsboy's family was insufficiently nourished, the Negroes could not afford homes on more secure ground.

While front pew holders cause the chimney sweeps of their conscience to preach fervently against the "Socialist lie" that a Christian life and business are incompatible, and while these front pew holders listen complacently to these preachments, this is what their own financial reports from London state: "If only confidence existed here in the straightforwardness of American railroad and market methods, there would be undoubtedly a disposition to take a hand in buying the ordinary securities of American railroads."

For the information of posterity be it duly set down and noted, that when the Brooklyn Rapid Transit went 50 days without killing anybody, "all records of the company were broken," and "the officials went into great jubilation."

WARRANT FOR GORKY'S ARREST.

Russian Government Again Hounding Brilliant Revolutionary Author.

St. Petersburg, February 13.—The police have issued a warrant for the arrest of Maxim Gorky, the well-known Russian revolutionary novelist. In the document Gorky is described as "a Nizhni-Novgorod house painter."

This is not the first time Gorky has been hounded by the Russian authorities. He was arrested in Riga, on January 25, 1905, charged with being a member of a revolutionary organization. For a time it was thought that his life was in danger, but a little later he was released by the Russian government, though still kept under police surveillance.

Some time after he was found to have contracted tuberculosis and was allowed to go to Crimea for his health. In April the Russian state attorney recommended that the charges against him be dropped, and he was a free man again and visited Germany, Switzerland and the United States.

On his return from New York he went to Italy, where the government prohibited the production of his plays and prevented in Rome a Socialist meeting that he was to have addressed. Afterward he went to London and then returned to Russia.

PROHIBITIONISM AS ENTERING WEDGE

Hitherto Prohibitionism seemed good only to illustrate several correct Socialist principles of economics by means of the absurd economic principles that the Prohibition Movement advanced. Some recent events, culminating with the action of the Tennessee lower House in passing a drastic Prohibition bill over the Governor's veto, have afforded Prohibitionism the opportunity to prove that it is good for some other purposes besides helping to demonstrate by contrast, the soundness of a number of Socialist economic tenets. Prohibitionism now steps forward in no less valuable a capacity than that of furnishing the "thin edge" to the wedge of Social Revolution advocated by Socialism.

The Tennessee incident has caused the "Liquor Interests" to assume the language of Capital. "Property is destroyed"; "disaster is inflicted upon business"; "millions of property are rendered valueless"; "old established houses are ruined"; etc.; etc;—of course, to their owners. These are the complaints now made by the "Liquor Interests." These are the identical charges that Capital prefers against Socialism. In sight of the language of the "Liquor Interests" Prohibition answers calmly, coolly, deliberately, unconcernedly, even in inspired strains: "We care not! Your property, your houses, your millions are used against the public interest. As such you are a nuisance and must go!" Well answered.

Prohibitionism thereby is mightily pushing forward a Socialist principle that Socialism has nailed to its masthead—"Life is more precious than property."

Let the public ear only get accustomed to the theory now advanced by Prohibitionism, to wit, that all argument regarding the injury to "private property" that would result from a certain Movement is irrelevant, and that the real question is, "Does the said property work good or evil?"—let that principle be well advertised, and it will strike root, and with its root it will remove nine-tenths of the objection that Socialism will disable the present holders of capital from utilizing their property.

It matters not how large "investments" may be. If they work injury to the commonwealth—away with them.

Prohibitionism is familiarizing the public ear with a sound revolutionary principle. Who would have thought it!

WHITE SLAVES AT AUCTION

HARD TO FIND BUYERS IN SALE AT PARKSIDE CHURCH.

E. T. O'Loughlin Exposes Falsity of Commissioner of Charities Statement That Unemployed Won't Work, and Calls "Prosperity" Bluff.

The slave auction which was held in Parkside Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, on Feb. 12, bared the untruthfulness of the many statements being at present made by "respectable," and "public" men that the unemployed could easily find work but for their laziness. The men who stood upon the altar of the church offering themselves in exchange for a livelihood were all men of good character, cleanly in person and neat in appearance; most all wore negligee shirts and white collars. It was surprising to see the predominance of young men in the line, about two-thirds of the twenty-six men for sale were between the ages of twenty and thirty. Though wearing masks their years were plainly discernible from their build.

When E. T. O'Loughlin asked for employers who had positions to offer to these unemployed there were painful intervals of silence. The loud-mouthed proclaimers of "jobs for all who cared to work," were very much absent. Only a few men slowly responded. Though Commissioner of Charities Hebberd was called for he discreetly stayed away from this meeting.

O'Loughlin, who is a workingman himself, in explaining how he hit upon the plan of an auction to find employers for the men he had to offer made some pointed comments upon Hebberd especially. He told of having heard of this Hebberd term the jobless men "bums, loafers, and good-for-nothings"; that Hebberd had said there was plenty of work which he could furnish. O'Loughlin said that, in order to test Hebberd's statement, a friend had asked the Commissioner over the telephone what kind of jobs he had, and the answer was, "In the quarries at Blackwell's Island." "This means nothing less than work on the rock-pile in the penitentiary," said O'Loughlin. "Such is what this man, who himself draws a $7,500 salary, whose three assistants run up the office salaries to $21,500 a year, and whose department was given a $2,500,000 appropriation to be expended for charity, has to offer.

"Is Hebberd here now to place some of these men?" No answer. An assistant of O'Loughlin's was sent outside where there was an overflow audience of fully five hundred to ask for the commissioner, but he was not present. "Therefore, Hebberd's bluff has been called," said O'Loughlin, when informed that no signs of the head of the charity department were to be found.

O'Loughlin said that he had received letters from all over the country, asking him to furnish jobs to men. He exhibited a suit case full of the letters. He said he had never realized the extent of social misery before and he was physically sick and sick at heart of what he had witnessed the last three weeks. When it became known to his friends that he intended resorting to an auction as the only hope and method of disposing of the men who had come to him, he was met with all manner of gibes. Friends asked him if he were in earnest in the matter; they wanted to know how much rake-off he was getting. "If you would mystify a community, just try to do something that is on the level," said O'Loughlin; "they think you are a 'queer'."

Other men had come to him and tried to persuade him not to put through his intentions. Said they, "You are stirring up an awful muss. Stop it. Don't expose these conditions to the public." He, however, was determined that the public should know how things really stood. "That is just the trouble," said O'Loughlin, "people don't seem to know what terrible conditions so many are compelled to face."

The speaker told the audience plainly that each and all of them wouldn't hesitate to put on a mask the same as the men before them if they were out of work. "In fact," said he, "if you get kicked out of your job to-morrow, you'll do the same as these men are doing: you'll be looking for a master, because you want to live. You must have food and clothing and shelter. To get these you have got to sell yourselves: that's the plain proposition. You do it every day. You are no better than these men with the masks on. You're slaves just the same."

O'Loughlin also told of the desperation he found many of the men in. Many were those who threatened suicide by taking poison or jumping into the river. Some who wrote to him said they would be compelled to steal. With all of these he pleaded to stay them in their contemplated acts. But he confessed that work could be the only preventive of such acts as mentioned.

There were few employers who offered to take some of those "on the block." A baker hired a young man as driver; another asked for a painter and he was accommodated. There was a representative from the Straight Edge Industrial Settlement, 1 Abingdon Square, Manhattan, who said he could take several men.

The process of locating employers was, however, depressingly slow. The only thing this slave mart proved was that, above all things, America is NOT the Land of Opportunity.

INSULTS UNEMPLOYED.

Spokane's Chief of Police Calls Men "Saloon Bums" and Says They Will Not Work.

Spokane, Wash., February 5.—In line with the attempts being made in various quarters throughout the country to discredit the unemployed who are willing to work but can't find jobs, Chief of Police Rice of this city now comes out with a greater insult upon those workless men. Rice is making statements which are a libel upon the honesty and integrity of the unemployed here. He is trying to cover up the fact that jobs cannot be found for those who want them by saying now that he expects an epidemic of hold-ups by men who won't work. In this way the Police Chief is seeking to dispose of a disagreeable problem which the city is facing just now—providing for the men out of work.

The statement given out by Rice follows:

"I look for a number of small robberies, petty thieving and holdups during the next few weeks, and I advise every one to be prepared.

"There are between 300 and 400 idle men in the city, the majority of whom will not work, and they will depend upon robberies to make their living.

"I advise people to refuse to help these men, for in nearly very instance they are saloon bums who depend upon others to make their living.

"Persons who are out late at night should be prepared for holdup men. If they have to walk from the ends of the car lines it is well that they carry revolvers and carry them in view. We have always allowed reputable citizens to carry guns under such circumstances."

Rice's claim that the men will not work implies that jobs can be had, yet he does not mention a single instance where to find the much proclaimed positions. If he did so his bluff would be instantly called.

Thus the workingmen are learning here how little capitalist authorities are interested in their lot. To injury is added contempt and insult.

FRAU LIEBKNECHT DEAD.

Widow of the Old War Horse of the Social Democracy Passes Away at Sixty-nine.

Berlin, February 13.—Natalie Liebknecht, the widow of Wilhelm Liebknecht, died last week, aged 69.

She married Liebknecht in July, 1868, and the bond was severed by her husband's death on August 7, 1900. She bore him a daughter and five stalwart sons.

The International Movement mourns its loss.

HITS AT TRUST.

Denver Business Man Wants Political Party.

Denver, Col., February 8.—A new "trust fighting political party" to be known as the Empire Builders' club, was started by Frank S. Snell at the mammoth skating rink Sunday afternoon. Snell is at the head of the Moffat Road Lumber Company, an independent concern that is engaged in a bitter struggle with the lumber trust, but since the independent can't fight the "non-independent," or rather since the "independent" is independent in nothing, Snell has hit upon the idea of forming a political party to maintain "independence."

The meeting was called by Snell and the expense attached borne by him. He opened his address with a tribute to David H. Moffat, saying that he believed that "God Almighty led David H. Moffat to build a railroad over into Routt county!" Snell wasn't so sure that he was right for selecting Sunday afternoon as the time of launching the new club so he apologized and then entered into a discussion of the evils of trust oppression in general and enumerated a few customs he designated as moral wrongs, which should be corrected.

He then gave it as his opinion that Sunday theatres should not be permitted in Denver and that all Sabbath day amusements have a tendency to lead young people to the first downward step. Sunday saloons and wine rooms were also denounced.

Trust-busting, however, was holy work and so Snell handled them without gloves. He said that the lumber men, the brick men, the stone men and corporations handling all other commodities, with some unions included, have formed trusts regulating the prices. He stated that the only way these combinations could be broken up, for the benefit of himself, of course, would be by the people organizing themselves into one big political party or club and fighting fire with fire.

The speaker declared that if Denver people would buy Denver made goods (Snell, be it noticed, is a Demo-business man) many factories would be built here and those now in operation would be enlarged giving employment to large numbers of men who are now idle or working for small wages, and, incidentally, just by the way, Snell could rake in some profits.

He explained that the first fight he desired to take up would be directed against the lumber trust, he being in a position, if properly supported by the public, to break the backbone of that combination in short order. He wants to build up a great organization, he said, that will be financially strong enough to place the Moffat Road Lumber Company's material on the market in sufficient quantities and then the public can disband its political party, but first exalt Snell.

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WAR IN UNIONS

Denver Carpenters Bearing Each Other Down.

Denver, Col., February 9.—The union carpenters in this city instead of organizing to raise the conditions of labor would sooner turn their forces against each other and indulge in mutual scabbing and piracy. War is on between the Denver lodges of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and the Amalgamated Association of Carpenters. Charges and counter charges are being hurled back and forth, and the capon-lined bosses are standing by gloating over the spectacle of the men beating each other down.

The Brotherhood carpenters have withdrawn from the local Building Trades Council, and are in a fight against the unions of the Council. Their national representative, J. J. Luce, was sent here to adjust matters. He made some sort of agreement and then tried to compel the unions to accept his proposition. The men, however, balked. They refused to consider the terms of Luce. Hostilities are just as fierce as ever.

The Amalgamated carpenters assert that their opponents are guilty of treachery to what they call labor principles. They claim that the Brotherhood men have understandings with the bosses that their wages would be increased five cents per hour upon condition of withdrawing from the Building Trades Council. The Amalgamated men also contend that the Brotherhood is pursuing similar tactics all over the country in their selfish efforts to obtain a monopoly of the jobs.

It is said, however, that in several instances the Brotherhood unionists have not received the promised five cents extra. This only serves to further complicate the situation.

A number of these Brotherhood men are tired of this sort of unionism and have gone to work on "struck" places, working along side of Amalagamated members. For doing this they are liable to a fine of $25. Besides, they are regarded as criminals by those on strike, which lends to stir up animosities in the so-called ranks of "labor."

This factional fight in these unions is growing to be one of the bitterest which Denver has ever seen. And it thereby once demonstrates how little the interests of labor can be conserved and advanced by such organizations as are the product of A. F. of L. unionism.

The aim and good of the Gompers' unions is to seek a monopoly of jobs. No thought is given to free the workingman of the bosses' dictation and imposition of conditions which enslave labor. Therefore the "principles" which move the members to action lead to an internecine warfare, and labor pays the price, and continues to remain in wage slavery.

"THE IRON COLLAR."

Sue's Masterly Picture of Slavery Under the Romans Will Commence in Daily People, February 21.

On Sunday, Feb. 21, there will commence in the Daily People Eugene Sue's "The Iron Collar," the third in his great series of The Mysteries of the People.

It will be remembered the opening book of the series, "The Gold Sickle," showed the peaceful, happy Gallic family of Joel the Chieftain, at its ancestral hearthstone. Number two, "The Brass Bell," showed this family destroyed by the conquering invasion of Caesar, and the three remaining members of it, Sylvest and his little son and daughter, sold into bondage.

The present work, "The Iron Collar," takes up the story at this point, and depicts the lives of these three under their Roman masters. It is a matchless picture of the tragic contrasts of slavery, —on the one hand a once happy people degraded by servitude, and on the other their idle conquerors degraded by unbridled wantonness and limitless power over their subjects.

Introduced by a personal letter of Eugene Sue to his readers, and with elaborate footnotes giving the historical authority for the multitude of otherwise almost incredible facts embodied in it, the story will prove one of the most fascinating yet published.

It will run daily in The People for several weeks. Subscribe now; a three months' sub. at $1 will carry you through the story. Address 28 City Hall place, New York.

SIMPLE STUDIES in SOCIALISM

A BRIEF HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY OUTLINE.

By WM. H. CUSACK,
Chicago Ill.

PRELIMINARY.

In outlining the theory and nature of Socialism, it must be borne in mind that modern Socialism is not a stereotyped system of ideas, nor a collection of schemes or plans with which to patch up present society. It is a living and moving phenomenon, which is destined to bring order out of the present social chaos. It is the natural outcome of modern industrial conditions, and without these conditions it could not exist. Modern Socialism is scientifis. As Ferdinand Lassalle once said, "We have behind us the science and the learning of our day."

All present social tendencies point to Socialism. The present order holds out no hope for the toiling masses. It is constantly oppressing and degrading them. It has reduced the bulk of humanity into mere commercial units. The workers are forced to sell their labor to the highest bidder in the labor market. As their labor power and their individuality is inseparable, their condition is little removed from that of the chattel slave. They are dependent on a few capitalists for their existence, and have to make terms with these owners of the means of employment, and are consequently enslaved.

The capitalist system has made it practically impossible for the worker to make his living as an independent producer. By the introduction of mammoth mechanical powers into industry, the workers have been reduced to almost absolute dependence upon the few who own and control the industries. The skill and muscle of the worker, his labor power, is practically useless, unless he sells it to those who control production. Therefore, the labor power of the worker is bought and sold in the market like beef or potatoes.

To change this state of affairs and reorganize society, is the historic mission of the toilers. To emancipate humanity from the thraldom of class ownership of the very means of existence, with its concomitant distress, intense suffering, its ceaseless misery, and disgraceful waste, is a mission of honor and well worthy of the support of any one.

Socialism is the only solution of our present problems, and a clear understanding of its principles and aims is the great crying need of the world today. For the masses to continue to support and defend the present system, is out of all reason. The workers, the great majority, are the greatest sufferers under the tyranny of capitalism, and as they are quite able to transform society, their indifferent attitude is wholly inexcusable. The capitalist system has outlived its usefulness, and conditions are rotten ripe for the change. It is time that this last form of economic slavery were extinguished. As Karl Kautsky says, "Shall the system of private ownership in the means of production be allowed to pull society, with itself, down into the abyss, or shall society shake off that baneful burden, place the land and the implements of production in the hands of the people, to be operated collectively, for use and not for profit, and then, free and refreshed, resume the path of progress, which the evolutionary law prescribes to it? Such is the question and such the alternative. Our generation stands where the roads fork. One road leads, through ruin, back to barbarism; the other leads onward to the Socialist Republic."—(The Capitalist Class.)

ORIGIN OF THE TERM.

In 1835, a society was founded in England, under the auspices of Robert Owen, which was known as "The Association of All Classes of All Nations." Its members became known as Socialists, and the term "Socialism" was introduced into the discussions which arose in connection with that society. The term has been traced back as far as 1833, however, and appears to have been coined in that year. It was soon afterward borrowed from England by Reybaud, a French writer, who discussed the theories of Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen. Through Reybaud, it gained wide currency in Europe, and it is now the accepted world historic name for one of the most remarkable movements of modern times.

BRIEF HISTORY OF SOCIALISM.

In looking through history, we find many utopian schemes and ideals of society, such as Plato's "Republic," the theories of Campanella, Hobbes, More, Helvetitus, D'Hoblack, Morelly, Mably, Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen. During the first half of the nineteenth century, beside the theories of the three great utopian Socialists, Saint Simon, Fourier, and Owen, we have those of Cabet in France and of Weitling in Germany; and again, we find the social theories of Sismondi in France and England.

In speaking of the history of Socialism, however, we cannot go back further than the beginning of the nineteenth century, as prior to that time the utopian pictures of ideal social conditions, were merely the sentimental teachings of visionary philosophers and social reformers. The utopian Socialism of the early nineteenth century was also of a vague and sentimental character, but still it had a historic justification. The industrial revolution of the latter part of the eighteenth century, which was displacing the feudal system of the Middle Ages, was also producing a school of revolutionary thought which began to analyze the social system that had sprung up, and here we find the beginnings of historic Socialism.

According to Kirkup (History of Socialism), "the beginning of Socialism may be dated from 1817 with Robert Owen." He says again that "Socialism began in France with St. Simon and Fourier, and in England with Owen." He further informs us that "till 1850 there was a double movement in France and England. In France after St. Simon and Fourier, the movement was represented chiefly by Proudhon and Louis Blanc. In England after Owen, the movement was taken up by the body of Christian Socialists associated with Maurice and Kingsley."

Although, as before stated, the Socialism of the first half of the nineteenth century was a product of the industrial revolution, it was nevertheless of a utopian nature and its propaganda was based on sentimentalism for the most part, as industrial progress had not yet produced the necessary social intelligence which was essential to a thorough understanding of the social organism, and its development, and the correct revolutionary tactics and methods by which it could be changed.

As Prof. Kirkup says, "The founders of early Socialism grew up under the influence of the too-confident optimism which characterized the early stages of the French Revolution of 1789. They had an excessive faith in the possibilities of human progress and perfectibility. They knew little of the true laws of social evolution—in fact did not sufficiently recognize those aspects of life which Darwinism has brought out so clearly." The utopian Socialism held sway in Europe throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, but had about run its course, and was fast losing ground, when Marx and Engels, who, in the meantime had absorbed all of the scientific knowledge of their day, issued the "Communist Manifesto," in 1848, and presented the scientific and historic basis upon which modern Socialism was placed. This was accomplished by discovering the true laws of social development.

This Manifesto declared that the method of producing the material means of subsistence, determined as a general rule, the social, political, and intellectual life. This principle of social evolution, which was called "The Materialistic Conception of History," when applied to the economic changes in the development of society, made their explanation very simple. For instance, it showed that when the stage of feudalism gave way to the present industrial system, the political and moral institutions were displaced by new ones which were adapted to the new order. This applied to the preceding changes—from savagery to chattel slavery, and feudalism.

The task of presenting the capitalist mode of production in its historical connection, and inevitableness during a particular historical period, and therefore, to present its inevitable downfall and lay bare its essential character, was accomplished by exposing the secret of capitalist industry,—surplus value. From this time onward, Socialism was no longer an accidental discovery of this or that ingenious brain, but the necessary outcome of the struggle between two historically developed classes—the working class and the capitalist class. With these two great discoveries, Socialism became scientific. From that time on, this scientific Socialism has expressed itself in every country where modern capitalism has developed. It is international in its scope, and it is destined to supersede capitalism, as capitalism displaced feudalism. The present task of the Socialist is that of education and organizing the masses until the consummation of the present social development, and the declared bankruptcy of the present system shall have delivered the world into their hands.

DEFINITIONS.

There are various ways of defining Socialism.

Frederick Engels defines it in these words:

"Modern Socialism is, in its essence, the direct product of the recognition on the one hand, of the class antagonisms, existing in the society of to-day, between proprietors and non-proprietors, between capitalists and wage-workers; and on the other hand of the anarchy existing in production."—("Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.")

Paul La Fargue defines it thus:

"Socialism is not the system of any reformer whatever; it is the doctrine of those who believe that the existing system is on the eve of a fatal economic evolution, which will establish collective ownership in the hands of organizations of workers, in place of the individual ownership of capital. Socialism is of the character, therefore, of an historical discovery."—(Quoted by Ely, "Socialism and Social Reform.")

The Encyclopedia Brittanica puts it in the following words:

"Socialism, in short, means that in industry, in the economic arrangements of society, the collective or co-operative principle shall become normal or universal, that all who are able should contribute to the service of society, and that all should share in the fruits of the associated labor according to some good and equitable principle. In such a condition of things the noblest field for ambition will be in the service of society;—an ideal which is already partially realized in the democratic state."

Dr. Aley says:

"By Socialism is meant a social system based on the collective ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution, carried on co-operatively by all who are physically and mentally able to work; compensation for services being on the basis of to each according to his deeds, less his proportionate share of the social expenses."—("Socialism and Evolution.")

The Socialist Labor Party explains Socialism in its platform as follows:

"Socialism proposes placing the land and all the means of production, transportation, and distribution, into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the co-operative commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war, and social disorder; a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of civilization."

Nelson's Encyclopedia presents it thus:

"The aim of the dominant Socialism is to gain political power in order to convert private property in land and capital into collective property and use it for the common good."

Thomas Kirkup says:

"The central aim of Socialism is to terminate the divorce of the workers from the natural sources of subsistence and of culture. The Socialist theory is based on the historical assertion that the course of social evolution for centuries has been to exclude the producing class from the possession of land and capital, the subjection of workers who have nothing to depend on but precarious wage labor. Socialists maintain that the present system (in which land and capital are the property of private individuals freely struggling for increase of wealth) leads inevitably to social and economic anarchy, to the degradation of the workingman and his family, to the growth of vice and idleness among the wealthy classes, and their dependents, to bad and inartistic workmanship, to insecurity, waste, and starvation; and that it is tending more and more to separate society into two classes, wealthy millionaires confronted with an enormous mass of proletarians, the issue out of which must either be Socialism or social ruin. To avoid all these evils and secure a more equitable distribution of the means and appliances of happiness, Socialists propose that land and capital, which are the requisites of labor, and the sources of all wealth and culture, should be placed under social ownership and control."—("History of Socialism.")

THE MATERIALISTIC CONCEPTION OF HISTORY.

The principle, or law of social evolution called "Economic Determinism," "Historic Materialism," or more generaly, "The Materialistic Conception of History," emancipated Socialism from the fetters of utopianism. To Marx and Engels we owe this theory. In explanation it might be said that according to this law, society is molded and develops in accordance with the method of producing the physical necessaries of life, and that the class which owns the means of production, dominates and controls the social institutions of any particular period. As Marx says:

"The mode of production obtaining in material life determines, generally speaking, the social, political and intellectual processes of life."

For instance, let us take the present system as an illustration. To-day we have a machine industry which is owned and controlled by a class of capitalists. In order to earn their bread and butter the workers need access to the machinery and the workshops. They are dependent on these for their subsistence. Now, as these means of production are owned by capitalists, the workers have to make terms with these owners, and the terms are always in favor of the owners. Consequently, the capitalist is master of the situation, and the worker is practically a slave, or dependent.

Now, in order to maintain such a condition, the class in control must fashion the social institutions after its own interest. They must own and control the press, as that is the chief moulder of public opinion. They must have a hand in education. They must own and control politics. The reigning ethical standards are arranged so as to insure their interests, and the laws and customs are harmonized with those interests. In short, the whole set of institutions and social psychology are fashioned by the class in power. This must be so. It follows that public opinion must be in harmony with existing conditions or the conditions would be changed. The ethical standards and the laws must sanction those conditions or it would be criminal to participate in them. The whole superstructure of a society must be in harmony with its economic base or the discordance would produce an internecine war which would eventually transform that society.

For an extensive outline of this law of social development, the reader is referred to the writings of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Achille Loria's "Economic Foundations of Society," and Antonio Labriola's "Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History."

(To be continued.)

TRADE UNION STATISTICS OF IDLENESS.

An unusual amount of idleness among trade union ranks of the State during the Fall is shown in the last report of the New York State Department of Labor. Out of 358,756 members reporting to the unions in New York during September, 80,576, or 22½ per cent., were returned as idle at the end of the month.

The tables giving the amount of idleness in various industries showed that hard times had a tighter grip on the large cities, especially New York, than on the country. Of the total number of union workmen engaged in building and general construction, 33½ per cent. were idle in September. Among the clothing and textile workers 30.4 per cent. were idle. Not in a dozen years has the percentage of idleness in the third quarter been much over half as high as in 1908, while for the recent years the contrast is even greater.

The New York Labor Bulletin says editorially:

"The previous high record since 1896 was 13.8 per cent., in 1897, while since 1900 the highest figure was 10½ per cent., in 1907. The returns of causes of idleness show that it was solely lack of work which caused the excessive idleness in 1908."

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SAYINGS OF LINCOLN

SOME ROUGH-CUT GEMS FROM THE MINE OF THIS MAN'S HOMELY AND RUGGED MENTALITY, WHICH ABASHED THE FLUENT SCHOLARSHIP OF HIS DAY.

The intent of the lawgiver is the law.

The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the government, upon vital questions affecting the whole people, is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the people will have ceased to be their own rulers.

This country, with its institutions, belongs to the people who inhabit it. Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it, or their revolutionary right to overthrow it.

I do say I have no purpose to invade Virginia. But suppose Virginia erects, or permits to be erected, batteries on the opposite shore to bombard the city, are we to stand still and see it done? In a word, if Virginia strikes us, are we not to strike back, and as effectively as we can?

Is there, in all republics, this inherent weakness? Must a government, of necessity, be too strong for the liberties of its own people, or too weak to maintain its own existence?

There is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with, if not above, labor, in the structure of government. It assumes that nobody labors unless somebody else, owning capital, by the use of it induces him to labor. . . . Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration.—(Annual message to Congress, December 3, 1861.)

I distrust the wisdom if not the sincerity of friends who would hold my hands while my enemies stab me. This appeal of professed friends has paralyzed me more in this struggle than any other one thing. . . . What I can not do, of course, I will not do; but it may as well be understood, once for all, that I shall not surrender this game leaving any available card unplayed.

If there were a class of men who, having no choice of sides in the contest, were anxious only to have quiet and comfort for themselves while it rages, and to fall in with the victorious side at the end of it without loss to themselves, their advice as to the mode of conducting the contest would be precisely such as his [Thos. J. Durant, of Louisiana] is. . . . They are to be carried snug and dry throughout the storm, and safely landed right side up. . . . What would you do in my position? Would you drop the war where it is? Or would you prosecute it in future with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose-water?

I shall do less whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do more whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors, and I shall adopt new views so soon as they shall appear to be true views.

If I must discard my own judgment and take yours, I must also take that of others; and by the time I should reject all I should be advised to reject, I should have none left—not even yourself. For be assured, my dear sir, there are men who have "heart in it" that think you are performing your part as poorly as you think I am performing mine.—(Letter to Carl Schurz, 1862.)

Labor is like any other commodity in the market—increase the demand for it and you increase the price of it.—(Annual message, 1862.)

It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far nobly advanced; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.—(Gettysburg Address, 1863.)

The strongest bond of human sympathy, outside of the family relation, should be one uniting all working people, of all nations, and tongues, and kindreds.

I am naturally anti-slavery. If slavery is not wrong, nothing is wrong.

I claim not to have controlled events, but confess plainly that events have controlled me.

We all declare for liberty; but in using the same word we do not all mean the same thing. With some the word liberty may mean for each man to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor.

To read in the Bible, as the word of God himself, that "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," and to preach therefrom that "In the sweat of other men's faces shalt thou eat bread," to my mind can scarcely be reconciled with honest sincerity.

When, a year or two ago, those professedly holy men of the South met in semblance of prayer and devotion, and, in the name of him who said, "As ye would all men should do unto ye, do ye even so unto them," appealed to the Christian world to aid them in doing to a whole race of men as they would have no man do unto themselves, to my thinking they contemned and insulted God and his church far more than did Satan when he tempted the Saviour with the kingdoms of earth.

I have always thought that all men should be free; but if any should be slaves, it should be first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others. Whenever I hear anyone arguing for slavery, I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally.

Some of you are for the "gur-reat pur-rinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "popular sovereignty."

Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end dare to do our duty as we understand it.

Every man, black, white, or yellow, has a mouth to be fed, and two hands with which to feed it—and bread should be allowed to go to that mouth without controversy.

The love of property and a consciousness of right or wrong have conflicting places in our organization, which often make a man's course seem crooked, his conduct a riddle.

Thank God that we have a system of labor where there can be a strike. Whatever the pressure, there is a point where the workman may stop.

And inasmuch as most things are produced by labor, it follows that all such things of right belong to those whose labor has produced them. But it has so happened, in all ages of the world, that some have labored, and others have without labor enjoyed a large proportion of the fruits. This is wrong, and should not continue. To secure to each laborer the whole product of his labor, or as nearly as possible, is a worthy object of any good government.

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THE SMALL FARMER

From Granite, Okla., this letter of criticism and remonstrance has run in:

DAILY PEOPLE

Granite, Oklahoma, Jan. 24, 1909.

To the Editor of The People, New York:—

In the issue of the Weekly People of December 26, 1908, answering D. B. M., of Granite, Okla., you state that the class interests of the wage worker and the small farmer are not identical, and compare the small farmer with the small factory owner and shopman, stating that in disposing of his products he does not sell his labor-power. You say that he may or may not employ labor, and if he doesn't, his earnings include only his own labor and surplus value, a fact which separates him from the wage-earner. You also state that in a literary sense, their interests are said to be the same, but it is largely sentimental and getting away from science, and that this sort of thing is not organizable. The process of reasoning by which you arrive at these contradictory and erroneous conclusions displays a lack of knowledge of the conditions that surround the small farmer of the present day. This compels me to take issue with you and criticise your deductions.

I am one of the many Socialists, who, at the risk of being called unscientific, believe that Lasalle's Iron Law of Wages is being applied by the capitalist system as mercilessly to the small farmer and renter, as it is to the proletariat.

In a life of fifty-five years I have had experience on both sides of the fence. Prior to the A. R. U. strike in 1894, I was a wage worker; since then I have become a small farmer, and in all candor must admit that as a wage earner I enjoyed more of the fruits of labor and worked less hours than I do now as a farmer. In distribution exploitation is just as great as in production. The farmers of the South are exploited to the limit. Our staple crops have time and again been so manipulated by the system that it required the combined help of our wives and children to eke out our existence, and that by doubling up on the wage-earner's eight-hour-day.

Your assumption that we may or may not employ labor is a joke on us because of the fact that if we do employ labor at prevailing rates we have frequently to sell below the cost of production, and face a deficit at pay day. Thus our charitable instincts are somewhat limited, and we prefer, when nature is bountiful and the crop larger than we can gather, to make a present of the surplus to the wage worker rather than see it go to waste. Then the system rewards our philanthropy, as a rule, with overproduction which is just as effective in reducing our standard of living as a reduction of wages or the loss of a job is to the wage worker.

As workers on the farm our time for the study of the classics is very limited. What we have done in this line leads us to the conclusion that mathematics is the only branch of knowledge that is unassailable and absolutely correct, hence our presumption in taking issue with our city comrades when they term all farmers as capitalists. In the application of science to modern Socialism and its relation to any body of workers, deductions, to be scientifically correct, must be based on the general conditions surrounding those workers.

Now, what is the actual condition of the small farmer? In Oklahoma, a state supposed to be one of the El Dorados for the farmer, the county records show from eighty to eighty-five per cent. of their imaginary titles held by the suffrage of capitalism. One of our city comrades, an agent of capitalism, and he only one of the many hangers-on that are in this county, loaned out recently in ten days' time over $60,000 to farmers, mostly to those already hopelessly in debt. They were forced to increase their loans.

Modern Socialism is the direct product of the intelligent recognition of the class struggle, and its mission is to free all the workers from exploitation. This being so, and believing that the capitalist system in the United States has so changed the status of the small farmer and renter that he is no longer an exploiter of labor, but rather a victim of exploitation, we think we are justified in believing that his class interests are identical with the wage worker.

I further believe that the time, predicted by Marx and Engels, for the establishment of industrial armies, especially of agriculture, is close at hand, and in this connection I will say that in the final struggle against capitalism, the small farmer will be largely in evidence shoulder to shoulder with the proletariat demanding the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

Yours in revolt,

JOHN G. WILLS.

Viewed at from one angle of vision it would seem ungracious, if not worse, impolitic, to controvert our correspondent's posture. It may be asked, Why enter into a theoretic dispute with a man who not only pronounces himself a Socialist, but evidently demands the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class? Suppose he is theoretically wrong regarding class interests; he lands right. Leave well enough alone. Such a policy would be wise to pursue were the Movement now on its "home stretch." When a Movement is well under way, matters not what heterogeneous views it attracts. These will not be able to turn, or even affect, its course. Its own impetus will guard it against danger. Otherwise when a Movement, as is the case with the Socialist in America, is still in its formative period. Under these circumstances, though the task remain ungracious, it is pre-eminently politic to controvert erroneous principle.

Before taking up our correspondent's central point, it will be well to dispose of two statements with which he introduces his argument.

First—The People's Letter-Box answer, quoted from in condensed form, was, in full, as follows:

"The interest of the wage earner and the small farmer, understanding by that their class interests, are not identical—any more than are the interests of the wage earner and the small factory or shop man, and for identical reasons. The small factory and small shop man may and does work. He does not live on dividends. But he does not sell his labor power. He sells other goods. He may and he may not hire labor. If he does, his income consists of the price of his goods, in which are included his own labor, the labor of his wage slaves and his surplus value. Clearly, in such a case, his interest and that of his wage earners are not one. If he employs no wage earners, his earnings include only his own labor and his surplus value—a fact that separates him from the wage earner, who never pockets surplus value.

"In a literary sense the small farmer, like the small shop keeper, is said to have the same interests as the wage earner, seeing both are kept with their noses to the grindstone. But the moment one gets into literature and away from science there is no end to sentiment. Hence there are Socialists who are seen weeping over the mental and moral hardships Rockefeller has to endure. That sort of thing is not organizable."

Our correspondent pronounces these conclusions "contradictory and erroneous. As to their "erroneousness," we shall consider that presently. As to their "contradictoriness," wherein does the contradiction consist? Is it, perhaps, "contradictory" to say, in one place, that the interests of the small farmer and the wage earner are not identical, and, in another place, to say that, in a "literary sense," in "literature," the small farmer and the wage earner are said to have the same interests? Hardly. "Literature" is one thing, notedly hyperbolic of expression; "science" another, necessarily strict in terms. Obviously, by contrasting the phraseology of "literature" with that of "science," the weakness of the former was pointed out, instead of a contradiction incurred.

Second—Our correspondent proclaims his adherence to "Lasalle's Iron Law of Wages." With a respectful bow to Lasalle for his otherwise great services, the Socialist Movement has long ago discarded his "Iron Law of Wages" as untenable. More lies in this than may seem on the surface. 'Tis well to grapple therewith. What was Lasalle's "Iron Law of Wages"? Condensed in a few words it amounted to this: "If the supply of Labor is plentiful wages will be low; low wages will reduce the Labor population; a reduced Labor population, by offering a lower supply, will cause wages to rise again; higher wages will again raise the supply of Labor, by increasing the Labor population; whereupon the renewed plentiful supply of Labor will once more reduce wages," and so on in an iron circle forever. This theory drew its sap from two other theories—the Malthusian theory of population and food, and the theory of the "wages fund"—both of them social and economic fallacies. Along with Lasalle's "Iron Law of Wages," the two theories that served for its foundation, have been cast by Socialism on the rubbish heap of exploded notions. So all-around untenable is the Lasallean theory that we must confess ourselves at a loss to understand our correspondent's announcement that Lasalle's Iron Law of Wages is being applied to him as a small farmer.

And now to the main question.

The starting point of our correspondent lies in the error of raising his own personal, private and exceptional virtues to the category of a FEATURE of his class—the small farmer or renter. Did our esteemed correspondent enjoy the advantages of, say, this office, whither information flows in from as far West as California and Washington, as far South as Florida, as far East as Connecticut and Maine, as far North as Michigan, etc., Oklahoma included,—did he enjoy that opportunity our correspondent would quickly realize his mistake.

From all parts of agricultural America letters come to this office conveying information that points to the conclusion that the small farmer, the same as his urban counterpart, the small industrialist, or shopkeeper, is the most greedy and grasping and grinding of employers. No such thing as their making "a present of the surplus to the wage worker." And it stands to reason.

"Every mickle makes a muckle," runs the Scotch adage. A large employer, whether industrial or agricultural, exploits so many wage slaves that it takes only a mickle from each to heap up a comfortable muckle for him—and even he wants more. With the small employer, whether agricultural or industrial, his wage slaves are so few that a mickle from each comes nowhere near making the desired muckle. He needs more than mickles—and the employe of the small employer, whether in country or town, is made to feel the fact.

Moreover, with regard to the farm-hand there is a circumstance that bears upon him with a weight not felt by his city cousin. We have no feudalism left in America. Nevertheless we have that left which flavored feudalism—the loneliness, or the "retirement," as one may choose to call it, of country life. That ever adds grease to the elbow of Property, and intensifies helplessness, with its accompaniment of dependence, in the propertiless. Whatever the tribulations of the city, or industrial, wage slave are, the chances he has for justice in Court against his employer are such that the farm-hand substantially lacks. In farming districts either farmers or their close connections are the magistrates. In the eyes of these the farm-hand is a pariah. And so it happens that the employes of the small farmer are paid more poorly, are treated more harshly, are often even cheated of their wages, and deem themselves happy if they escape arrest as "vagrants," a very common rural method to compel submission—and work.

But our esteemed correspondent should not need the detailed information of so well posted a place as this office to warn him as to the features of his class. There is a robust fact, accessible to the discernment of all. That fact is the congestion of cities—a congestion that arises, not from the immigration of what Socialist party men, like Guy Miller and Robert Hunter refer to with contempt as "the hordes of Europe and Asia," but that arises from the mass emigration from the farm districts. Our city "breadlines" have been found to be made up very extensively of this element. What are they fleeing from? Surely not from a class treatment marked by the exceptional benevolence of our correspondent.

Our correspondent mentions the trials of the small farmer. He surely does not exaggerate. He could have said much more, and truthfully, too—but all falling wide of the mark.

Socialism has long pointed out the fact that whatever the tribulations of the wage slave may be, they are not to be compared with the mental tortures of the employer. Even a multimillionaire undergoes agonies, in his capacity of multimillionaire, that the from-hand-to-mouth-living proletaire has no conception of. This fact has acted as a touchstone to distinguish the sentimentalist from the Socialist. While the fact has caused many a sentimentalist to tour the land weeping copious tears (and not always crocodile tears, either,) over the sorrows of a Rockefeller, whom the sentimentalist would make still happier—while the fact under consideration has that effect upon the sentimentalist, it has a different effect upon the Socialist. To the Socialist the fact points out the superior mental state, that capitalism leaves and nurses the wage slave in, compared to the state of peculiar nervous and moral prostration to which it reduces its own particular pet, the capitalist. Him capitalism drives to cheat, and lie, and scheme, while it leaves its victim, the wage slave, free from the burden of responsibility, consequently, mentally at ease and morally undepraved—a pregnant truth from which flow pregnant conclusions, too, numerous to mention at this place, and needing only to be hinted at.

Class features are stamped by material necessities, and these are determined by Property—large Property, small Property, or the absence of Property, wherewith to produce wealth. The class feature (regardless of exceptional individual virtues) of the small farmer is stamped by the material needs of his class. The material needs of the small farmer dictate to him low taxes, low railroad freight rates, etc.—all of which do not concern the workingman whose share in what he produces (his wages) is determined by the supply of and the demand for him in the Labor Market; and the material needs of the small farmer dictate to him low wages—a need that immediately sets him at fisticuffs with the workingman.

Exactly like the small industrialist, the small farmer is ground to dust between the upper mill-stone of large property and the lower mill-stone of the proletariat. This misleads his judgment, causing him to become the victim of a dangerous optical illusion—the illusion of one moment believing himself a proletarian, the next moment believing himself a victim of the proletariat.

Individuals who, like our correspondent, have so far emancipated themselves from the fetters of their class instincts as to demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class, are fraught with a potentiality either for yeoman service to the Movement, or, be it said in all needed frankness, though not unkindness, for untold harm:—

Their potentiality for good lies in the measure that they will help bring home to their own class the fact that their class's miserable plight marks them a CARICATURE OF CAPITALISM, not an AGGRAVATION OF PROLETARIANISM; in the measure they will help draw sharp the line of their own class interests and thereby disclose the utter hopelessness of these, to say nothing of their iniquity; in the measure they help their own class to distinguish the socially, or economically sharply marked difference between the plucking to which they are themselves subjected by the upper capitalist, and the "exploitation" to which the proletariat is subjected by the whole capitalist class, themselves, small farmers, included. In the measure that men like our correspondent do these things will they secure the honest, because intelligent, and the intelligreat, because honest co-operation of their class with the proletariat in the establishment of the Socialist Republic.

Their potentiality for harm, on the contrary, lies in the measure in which they will mistake their own private virtues for features of their class; blur the class line by a wrongful use of the technical term "exploitation"; and raise suffering to the category of an economic foundation for class identity. In the measure that these men do that they endanger the Movement that they themselves have at heart. The small farmer CLASS may be unintelligently attracted. Attracted unintelligently, it will bring its class instincts along; betray the proletariat, as the Kansas Populist farmers did soon as they secured office; and leave the proletariat in the lurch as the Populist farmers' Movement did the moment wheat went up to a dollar a bushel.

NOT BY SIGHING

But by Doing, Is the Social Revolution Advanced.

No doubt time and again you have said to yourself: "It is a pity that such excellent matter as The People contains has not a wider reading." Of course it is a pity, but wishing and regretting will not enlarge the field of The People's influence. There are just two ways in which The People's field may be widened: Funds, ample funds, by which the paper may make itself known, or by the untiring energy of those who believe in The People and the mission it has to perform.

The most feasible of the two is the latter, for it would take a lot of money, and that we can't get, to do the first properly. And after all is said the Movement must depend more upon the energy of its advocates in extending its propaganda than upon any other way.

Start to-day and see what you can do to push the propaganda. The important thing is to make a beginning. Tackle the man who works next you in the shop, or the neighbor next door, or the man who lives upstairs.

If you are really imbued with Socialism you will recognize this as the grandest work that you can do for the Movement. And the man that you approach—you are doing him the noblest service that can be done him when you bring the light of Socialist knowledge to his intelligence. Do you not call him blessed who brought the light to you and should not you in turn be a Light Bearer?

Let those sigh who will, but you, who would advance the Social Revolution, be up and doing.

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THE LABOUR PARTY AND DIRECT ACTION

By H. M. Hyndman, in London "Justice," January 23.

I.

There is no doubt whatever that the Labour Party has not only disappointed serious Socialists of all shades of opinion but that it has also damped down the enthusiasm even of its own followers all through the country. The purely Trade Union section of the Party has, no doubt, the right to say that this is not its fault. They contend that they were not sent to the House of Commons to propagate Socialism, or to act as the pioneers of social revoluion in that assembly, or in the country. That is quite true. But none the less, rightly or wrongly, a great deal more was expected of them than they have done; and, in particular, that they should take up a far more aggressive attitude towards the Liberal Party than they have seen fit to adopt. Granting, therefore, that the Socialist resolutions expressed no more than pious and, to them, unrealisable aspirations, which the Trade Unionists only accepted for the sake of harmony after having voted against them, the fact still remains that they have discouraged many who, without being Socialists, were evidently in favor of very vigorous independent action on the part of "Labour."

With the Socialist section of the Labour Party the case is different, and a great deal worse. They, by their quietist action or inaction, and by their harmful subservience to the Liberals in more cases than one, have not only shocked Socialist sentiment and reason throughout Great Britain, but they have thrown discredit upon Parliamentary methods as a means for bringing about social changes, or for forcing palliatives upon the dominant capitalist class. And yet, looking at the situation coolly, that is only what might have been expected, and what, as a matter of fact, some of us foresaw and predicted. We are in a transition period. That, even the least perspicuous among us now see. But in such a period it is rarely or never that men of initiative, energy and determination officially come to the front. It is the clever, dexterous men, who, as history tells us, not having been pioneers, and mostly uninspired with the spirit of the coming time, always make their appearance at such a juncture and are swept aside or go over to the enemy when the battle is joined in earnest.

That is the case with the leaders of the Independent Labour Party, into whose hands the manipulation of the forces of the Labour Party fell in the present Parliament. They felt proud of their position, were impressed by the dignity of the Assembly of which they formed a part, caught that distressing disease called the "tone of the House," and forgot that it was the people behind them who had made them, and not they who had made the people. From this to imagining themselves to be "statesmen," specially raised up to do great things in a nice quietist way, was no long step, and they speedily took it. Even the two or three of them who had previously displayed a spirit of genuine revolt brought themselves down to the dull level of the professional tide-waiters.

Now I do not agree with Blatchford that this is to be righted by more democracy, and the turn and turn about method in the administrative offices of the Party. To turn a good man out who gets his own way and does the right thing, merely because he is at times a trifle autocratic in his methods, is not my idea of democracy, and it is not one, I incline to think, Blatchford would be disposed to try himself, either on board ship, or out with an army, or at a cricket or foot-ball match, not to say in the management of a newspaper. No, no, the object of democracy is to get the best man to the head of the business and keep him there, so long as he conducts it properly. Our friends—sometimes our very abusive friends—of the I. L. P. have got control of the Labour Party. If they were doing well what Socialists want them to do, if they were showing what even our present antiquated Parliamentary machine is capable of producing on emergency, by pressure from the people they are called upon to represent, then more power to them. We would "marshal them the way that they were going." It is because they are not really going, but to all intents and purposes are marking time, that we criticise and even attack them. That they will soon have to get out of the way of the advancing battalions of Socialism we have no doubt whatever.

II.

Meanwhile, however, the failure of the Labour Party to impress itself on the House of Commons, or to do anything to strike the public mind has, illogically perhaps, but none the less certainly, driven numbers of people all over the country to distrust Parliamentarism altogether. This we regard as a foolish flying to the other extreme. And that other extreme is what is called "direct action," and direct action only, irrespective of representative political work altogether.

Now we have not the slightest objection to "direct action" if it will bring us to the haven of organized Socialism and the Co-operative Commonwealth sooner than we can get there in any other way. We have never had any belief whatever in the grandeur of bourgeois Parliamentarism, any more than we have at any time pinned our faith to the sanctity of a mere majority arrived at by a counting of noses. Parliament, with its government by faction, like accepting the judgment of a majority, is only a cumbrous machinery for avoiding civil strife. There is nothing more in it than that. But if the mass of the inhabitants of this country think proper to demand a transformation and democratisation of Parliament, if they choose to use the representative system, as even now they could use it, they would get a fairly long way before the governing class would resort to organized violence. That I, for one, have no doubt about; little prejudice as I feel in favour of what our comrade Thorne calls his "Westminster Gas Works."

But let us see what direct action means, and how it could be applied here or elsewhere. It is well to clear our minds, and, if possible, those of other people, of cant in this matter. There are then, it seems, only three methods of direct action for the purpose of "expropriating the expropriators" and establishing, without Parliamentary sanction, a Social-Democratic organization of society. They are:

1.—An organized armed rising against the dominant class for the avowed purpose of overthrowing the existing state of things and emancipating finally the wage-slave or disinherited class.

2.—A secret conspiracy, carrying on its work of Anarchism and Terrorism, with the help of the dagger, the revolver and dynamite, to the same end.

3.—A general strike, in order to bring the whole capitalist machine to a standstill.

As in this country the mass of our population is not trained to the use of arms at all, and the standing army and "Territorials" are entirely at the disposal of the capitalists, who have clearly shown that they would not hesitate to use them against the people, it is quite ridiculous to talk of direct action of the first description until we can get a democratic citizen force. In Germany or France an armed rising might conceivably be successful. Here it is childish to talk about it. And, besides, as we have often said, those who won't go to the ballot-box won't hurry to the barricades. Direct action by force of arms is therefore on all grounds out of the question in Great Britain at the present time.

Anarchism and Terrorism would merely engender ferocious reaction in this island, and could not affect the economic and social situation in any way. Assassination and bomb-throwing may possibly be justified against a ruthless despotism such as that of Russia, or where an alien race suppresses freedom and bleeds millions of people to death, as in India; but the most fanatic revolutionist would scarcely argue that they will help the British proletariat at home.

We are, therefore, reduced for direct action, until we get a citizen army to the general strike so far as Great Britain is concerned. And this deserves a separate paragraph.

The problem of the General Strike has often been discussed at the International Socialist Congresses, and, while no definite resolution has ever been passed against it, nobody can truthfully deny that the general sentiment of these Congresses has been opposed to it. The enormous difficulties of its effective organization have been fully recognized, and the terribly depressing effect of possible failure has been seriously considered. It cannot be said, either, that such attempts as have been made, so far, in this direction, have been very encouraging. The results have not been commensurate with the sacrifices. Nevertheless, in view of the growing dissatisfaction with Parliament—for the doubts about the value of Parliamentary methods are by no means confined to the United Kingdom—the question of the possibility of a really effective general strike is being agitated everywhere, former defeats notwithstanding. Surely, however, it must be perfectly clear to those who are advocating this here at home that we could have no possible chance of even temporary success unless we had the Trade Unions with us. "The Industrial Workers of the World" are not of this world yet, and are not likely to be unless its advocates change their tactics from top to bottom. Therefore, we say, we must have the Trade Unions with us. We must also have the sympathy of the majority of the unskilled workers on our side, to say the least of it. We must indulge in no illusions as to the fact that the well-to-do could, unless great care were taken to lay in supplies for the general strikers beforehand, hold out much longer than the workers under this tremendous industrial interdict. Moreover, we must thoroughly understand at the start, having prepared this great engine of social revolution, what we intend to do, both if we win and if we lose. Don't let us make any mistake about it, a general strike leads direct to civil war. Are we ready to provoke civil war? The question calls for an answer.

We say then that we are not enemies of "direct action," we are not against a drilled and armed organized rising, we are not opposed to a general strike. But we do ask that those who, at a period of natural, very natural, disgust and disappointment wish us to abandon our Parliamentary work entirely, should give us something better than mere "blessed words" in order to cheer up our spirits and lift us our hearts. If we are going to have a general strike even five, not to say ten years hence, we ought to be persuading the Trade Unionists, who are certainly not in favour of it at present, to begin to make ready for it now. I am not ashamed to confess that I have not yet thought out the complete plan that I should like to submit to the Committee of Public Safety which would have to take charge of such a business, and I doubt if any one else has. Yet, till that plan has been elaborated and its main principles are accepted, "direct action" has little or no meaning for us.

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or
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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172
In 1908	14,237

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1909.

Away with rights that know no duties,
Away with duties shorn of rights.
—SONG OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

MILTON DAMMANN'S IMPROMPTU.

"It is a question now as to whether the manufacturers or the Union will run the factories." This is the pronouncement made by Mr. Milton Dammann, the Secretary and Counsel for the National Hat Manufacturers' Association. Mr. Dammann might have sat up all night, and yet failed to condense more sense than that compressed in as few impromptu words. The beauty of the sentence lies especially in that it covers the case, not in the hatters industry only, but in all industries.

Indeed, the question is as to whether the manufacturers (capitalist class) or the Union (working class) will run the factory (production, the Nation).

More than likely, most of the hatters on strike do not themselves realize as yet the nature of the struggle they are engaged in. More than likely, their craft Union horizon still bounds their perceptive faculties. Be this as it may, a marked feature of a social evolutionary process is that the forces, which the evolutionary process makes against, are the first to appreciate and announce the tendency of the process. Long before the bourgeois actually realized whither their movement tended, and, consequently, long before they organized, conscious of their route, the feudal lordlings began foaming at the mouth, and to declare that the question was whether the anointed of the Lord or a rabble-rout of traders was to run the country.

Another feature of a social evolutionary process is that each victory, scored by the forces which the evolutionary process makes against, is an illustrated lecture delivered by the victors to the vanquished, and thereby marshalling these the way that they must go, the tactics that they must observe, and the goal that they must aim at. Long before the bourgeois began to score any victory deserving the name, they were vanquished repeatedly; each defeat conveyed its lesson; each lesson pointed to the tactics that the exigency demanded, and the goal that the bourgeois should pursue.

Finally, a third feature of a social evolutionary process is that, not until the lessons, preached by the class that is to be overthrown to the class that is to do the overthrowing, are learned and acted upon by the latter, is order restored. The feverish condition of acute struggle, that such a conflict of classes implies, continues, repeating and re-repeating the turmoil under which alone the lessons can be preached. When the bourgeois had learned their lesson, then a thrill went through society, the thrill of new birth, and order was restored again.

These three features of a social evolution are magnificently condensed in Mr. Milton Dammann's impromptu utterance. Of course, the gentleman is wise without knowing it. But that does not detract from the wisdom of the utterance.

The hatters, now on strike, are being taught by their employers what strikers in all other trades are likewise taught. They are learning that the goal of Unionism is, not to bolster up capitalism, but to overthrow the same. They are being taught that such an aim can not be attained along craft Union and other Labor-dislocating organizations. They are being taught, in short, that the question is whether the capitalist class shall run the productive powers of the land, and thus run the Nation, or whether the job shall be assumed by the working class. The real question being thus pounded into the head of the working class, the necessity of a Union that embraces the whole class in one solid body—Industrial Unionism—is bound to be learned and acted upon.

The hatters, now on the school benches before the National Hat Manufacturers' Association, may or may not learn the whole lesson at one sitting. If not, they will need more sittings—strikes. But learn they will the lesson that the Milton Dammanns are striving to teach them.

Let's all, in the meantime, learn to labor and to wait.

DEBAUCHING GENIUS.

Aerial navigation seems in a fair way to be passing from the experimental stage to the practical. It may well rank with the greatest of the conquests of human genius. Its consequences in the readjustment of human relations are incalculable. One should think that, standing before the vistas opened by such an invention, the human mind would feel elevated, and would indulge in lofty aspirations only.

Not so.

Mr. Hudson Maxim, the leading speaker at the aeronautical session given by the Automobile Club on the 9th of this month grew electric in extolling—the peace-breeding possibilities of the aerial navigation? Not at all. Here is what the gentleman said:

"In war, the frontier is the line of battle. An invading army carries its frontiers with it. The flying machine will obliterate all frontiers, and there will be no city or village that may not be a possible battlefield.

"Although flying machines will not be able to carry any artillery, yet an army of raiders with the raiders' outfit will be able to reconnoitre and alight in defenceless places, destroy bridges, rip up railroads, cut communications, burn towns, blow up magazines, stores and powder mills. As in future wars these visitations may come any night to any inland town no home will be safe.

"The aeronaut can laugh at forts, coast fortifications and battleships. The flying machine opens human history again to the page when there were no forts along the frontiers and no quick firing guns; when blood and brawn alone stood between home, loved ones and the fierce barbarian; when wolves of rapine, murder and slavery howled beyond the wall; when love and life were victory's reward and death or worse the forfeit for defeat."

Is Rooseveltism a product of its times; or is its times a product of Rooseveltism?

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH A COLLEGE PROFESSOR?

Dr. Irving Fisher, the Yale physiological investigator, has come out with a scheme for the life insurance companies to enhance their profits by a system of hygiene which will make the policy holders live—and pay premiums—fifteen years longer.

"Then, too," said Professor Fisher on the 5th to the National Association of Life Insurance Presidents, "there would be the vast economic gain to the country in general by reason of the prolongation of life."

This "economic gain" is a strange god the patent economists of the country have been running after with great persistency of late. Professor Fisher has joined the pursuit race, only to trip in his haste.

To say "son," implies a "father." To say "there would be vast economic gain to the country by prolongation of life," implies that at present the life we have is "being fully utilized." That implication of Professor Fisher's argument is false as dicers' oaths.

The economic, productive life we have, is not to-day being fully utilized. It is, on the contrary, being recklessly, riotously, criminally squandered by the very system the Dr. Fishers uphold. Add fifteen years to the workers' lives?—Why, every day workers are taking poisons and gas to shorten their lives; they feel themselves superfluous on the stage under the present managership. Unemployment is now recognized, even by capitalist apologists—witness Mr. Jules A. Guedon—as a chronic and necessary accompaniment of the present industrial system. Ten million workers are at this writing estimated to be out of work in the country. Is their economic life being utilized?

Along with increased wages in some trades, has gone the offsetting fact that periods of employment in those lines are shorter and farther between. Thousands of clerks, salesmen, lawyers, flunkies of one sort and another, are to-day wholly withdrawn from production, and act only as the mercenaries of one employer against another, or as domestic trimmings. Is the economic life of all these people being utilized?

Machines which would simplify and cheapen production ten-fold are destroyed, or bought up and kept hidden by monopolists, inventive genius is discouraged and hampered, in order to allow the owners of the present less perfect machinery to reap the "return on their investment." Is the economic power of the thousands who could be employed on these machines being utilized?

Goods are wantonly destroyed after production, and out-put is limited, curbed, and curtailed, in order to "steady prices." Is that utilizing the economic power of the country?

Look wherever we will, there we find the evidences of the insane degeneration which a system of production for profit only is inevitably bound to run into. No doubt about it, human labor power is to-day being ruthlessly and alarmingly wasted. What we have is not made use of—why cry for more! The only effect it could have would be to increase the army of unemployed and thereby cut down wages.

By shutting his eyes to these facts, Professor Fisher has done himself no credit. A year or so ago, apropos of a dietetic controversy, which is more in his line, Professor Fisher wittily asked: "If we are to chew our starch, and bolt our meat, what shall we do with a ham sandwich?" In the light of his latest utterance, one feels tempted to enquire: "If we are to pity the blind, and nail the falsifier, what shall we do with a capitalist college professor?"

ONCE A TRINITY CORPORATION, EVER ONE.

The Trinity Corporation remains true to itself unto the end.

A close to a hundred years' career, that typified throughout the worst vices implied in landlordism—rapine, brazen violation of law, cruelty to tenants, disregard of human health and life— reached a point, at last, in the matter of the St. John's Chapel, when the beneficiaries of the Corporation realized they "had no friends," and feared their sins were about to come down over their heads like a pile of bricks.

At that pinch what does the Corporation decide upon?—To make a clean breast? make an open confession? restore to the State School Fund the vast property that has long reverted to it and has all this time been wrongfully withheld by the Corporation? Not a bit!

At this pinch, and performing, or attempting to perform, a veritable "tour de force," the Trinity Church Corporation proposes to cap what was considered an already sufficiently capped landlord career, by a supreme landlord trick.

The Trinity Church Corporation proposes to sell. It claims it will no longer be a landlord—and it attests its duplicity with the supreme landlord act of selling, and pocketing the proceeds. Nor is this all.

It may be said that a landlord, if he sells, may justly pocket the converted property in the shape of money. In this instance, however, what the landlord is doing is to seek to transfer to "innocent purchasers" a property that the landlord himself is not entitled to.

Thus, after nigh to a hundred years of piracy, Trinity Church Corporation seeks to pocket the money for lands it has not been entitled to hold,—and let the "innocent purchaser" take his chances with the State, against which no Statute of Limitations can run, and which may at any time dispossess the "innocent purchaser."

Once a Trinity Church Corporation, ever one.

Is it merely accidental or symptomatic—the instances, recurring with increasing frequency, that recall the days of a decadent Rome? A distinguishing feature of more than one Emperor of those days was gluttony. To-day with flaming headlines the news is published that, upon his arrival in New Orleans, Taft was feasted with "fatted shrimp, 'chile con carne,' bouillabaisse," etc., but "the marvellous Creole concoctions failed to daunt his prowess."

Grand Chief Stone of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers admits there are now 5,000 members of his order out of work, but he consoles himself with the thought that the number would be larger were it not that many others are working as firemen, though at half-pay. Chief Stone's consolation should furnish food for thought to the firemen whom Chief Stone's consolation displaces.

The new anti-"Salome" cry raised by the clergymen of Philadelphia affords an interesting study in the mechanism of the mind. It is well known that if a stimulus be applied to any human organ, a certain "point of saturation" must be reached before the organ will respond; once that stage is attained any little additional stimulus will then cause the organ to act. The Philadelphia clericals, who have so long complacently gazed upon the spectacle presented close at hand by the prurient millionaire social life of Pittsburg, have been all this while merely reaching their "point of saturation." Now they are in the condition where the frank and artistic presentation of a gauze-draped singer on the stage sends them into convulsions of righteousness.

"The People" is the paper that you want. Straight and Truthful. workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Now that the Lincoln centenary is calling forth many and varied reflections regarding the man, and the mighty events in which he was a commanding figure, it will not be out of place for us Socialists to indulge in our own reflections and announce our conclusions upon these interesting and important subjects. There are two features of the anti-slavery period that should command our attention.

The early anti-slavery societies looked solely to arousing the moral conscience of the nation, especially the moral conscience of the Slave States themselves, to abolish the institution. In this respect they remind us of those well-meaning people who to-day urge that Socialists should try to "convert" the capitalists to Socialism.

The early anti-slavery societies were for a time greatly encouraged by the organization of emancipation societies in some of the slave States, just as at present we see sentimental Socialists rejoicing when some millionaire "comes out" for Socialism. But economic factors were at work advancing slavery, and the Southern anti-slavery societies vanished from the conflict just as do the millionaire Socialists when their economic interests, the dislike of irksome duties, or the fear of personal dangers demand it.

With the Louisiana purchase and the acquisition of Florida, the raising of cotton, rice and sugar became among the largest interests of the country. The ownership of 4,000,000 slaves was also an enormous investment, not lightly to be given over by the slave holding class. Upon the slavery interest the slave States were united to the disregard of every other political question. Not only were the slave States united by a peculiar institution, they were also geographically separated from the rest of the country; the lack of the means of easy commercial intercourse with the North, and the fact that Europe was their best market, aided further in making them feel themselves almost a separate country. The united South, with the aid of Northern sympathizers, kept adding to the political slave power with the further acquisition of national territory.

All this was not accomplished without much friction, even armed warfare. Slavery and anti-slavery forces colonized the Territories in order to influence their political complexion upon admission to the Union. Armed bands conducted the Territorial elections. Every election was contested. Both sides would establish legislatures, hold constitutional conventions, and submit same to vote, and both constitutions would be declared adopted. Anarchy prevailed, violence was rampant, assassination, lynch law and burning of houses and towns was the order of the day. The slave power was intrenched nationally, and the Democratic Administration upheld the slave State men. Interwoven with all this was the confusion raised by the Southern interpretations of the Constitution, that are akin to the present day capitalist interpretation of that document, as against Labor and for Capital.

The steady advance of the slave-power, politically, finally forced the anti-slavery societies into political action, but there were many members who held to the previous harmless sentimental plan of "stirring the public conscience." They satisfied themselves with what they considered logical reasoning. Said they: Slavery is not merely a wrong and an evil, but a sin. No man may voluntarily take part in a sin. The Constitution recognizes, and to some extent protects slavery. It is a compromise with sin: therefore they would not participate in constitutional government. The struggle within the American Anti-Slavery Society was long and bitter, the non-politicals being victorious. Those who favored political action withdrew and organized the "Liberty party," entering into State and national elections; while it was never a very large party it exerted considerable influence in the free States.

It may surprise some to learn that the non-political Abolitionists urged secession of the free States; and while that was not attainable they held the position of personal seceders from the government, refusing all action under it. In this they were like the modern "philosophical Anarchist," who does not strive to wrest political power from the capitalist while declaiming against capitalist use of it. That body of Abolitionists therefore held the easiest of positions in great movements—the position of non-participant critic.

The Liberty party, the anti-slavery Whigs, and the anti-slavery Democrats, got together in convention, as the Free Soil party, in 1848. Strange to say they nominated Martin Van Buren, who while President served the slavery interests, but who now came out for the anti-slavery convention. It was somewhat in the nature of the nomination of Bryan, a Democrat, by the Populists in 1896; the result was the pulling away of enough Democratic votes to elect General Taylor, the Whig candidate. In 1852 the Whig party, divided in sentiment, tried to compete with the Democratic party for Southern support, very much as the Parker Democrats sought to earn capitalist support in 1904. The Whig convention adopted with little opposition a platform that the Southern wing of the party desired. The Free Soil party kept in the field. The Democrats stuck to their guns, and carried the electoral votes of every State but four. The Whig party never re-organized as a national party. It had lost the confidence of the slave States, was doubted by the anti-slavery forces in the North, being unable to carry the Northern States against the Democrats wherever the Free Soil party was large. The time had also arrived for the acceptance of the Free Soil platform.

The Free Soilers and the Whigs got together and each seeing the propriety of not requiring either to join the other they organized a new party, the Republican party. The resulting contest between the new party and the Democratic party was clearly on the issue of slavery. In 1860 the Democratic party having become the defiant propagandists of slavery alienated many adherents, and the complications that ensued elected Lincoln, the House remaining Democratic, the Senate Democratic by a large majority, and but one Republican upon the Supreme Bench, the majority of the Court being slave holders. Thus in brief outline we have traced the development of the anti-slavery forces from sentimental non-political beginnings to political triumph. From it all we Socialists may derive much to enlighten and cheer.

The second lesson that I would draw from the triumph of the Republican party is a very pertinent one to us Socialists. Repeatedly has The People asked of the "ballot-alone-is-sufficient" Socialists: How will you, in the event of capitalist refusal to recognize the verdict at the polls, enforce the same unless you have the workers organized and drilled to take and hold industry despite what the capitalists may threaten or do? Or, to put it in another way: By pointing to the ballot, depending upon the capitalist to submit and not enlightening the workers upon the fact that not the capitalist state, but capitalist industry is the objective, and that they must be ready to at once assume production, what will you do when the capitalist shuts down "to see what you are going to do?" Let us say that such visionaries could do all that they claim by legislation, don't forget that there is an interval of four months between the popular election and the taking hold of power. During these four months can you imagine, in the face of a shut-down, what a starved and infuriated proletariat, unorganized, and taught to believe that you could "do it all" if elected, what do you think they would be likely to do? The Paris Commune would be a summer's day idyl in comparison.

American history gives a noteworthy warning upon this very point. Remember, however, that Lincoln's election was the outcome of a conflict of property interest, against property interest, and therefore no such great and vast upheaval as the present day conflict—the Social Revolution. And yet the lesson to be learned from that which immediately followed the election of Lincoln is a beacon to warn, enlighten, and to prepare withal.

As soon as Lincoln's election was announced South Carolina took steps for secession, and her course was rapidly followed by Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas and Texas who by the time of Lincoln's inauguration were organized as a confederation. This was no doubt to be expected, but during the four months between the election and the inauguration of Lincoln the secessionists were not only organizing their political system, they were organizing a military system as well. Forts, arsenals, navy yards, and depots of the national government within the slave States were seized, but this was not all. The secretary of war had been for many months transferring munitions of war from Northern to Southern arsenals, so that when the war broke out the arsenals of the North were nearly stripped. The secretary of the navy was likewise busy. A large number of the best ships were in the Southern navy yards, and nearly all the other available ones in far off foreign waters. Southern officers, going into rebel service, resigned, boldly announcing their new positions, and were allowed to draw their full pay.

The whole machinery of government was in the hands of those whose sympathies were strongly with the South. President Buchanan in his message to Congress December 4, 1860, took the position that the government had no power to coerce a State by measures of war. His attorney-general, Mr. Black, officially sustained this position. The secretary of war resigned, and joined the rebels; the secretary of the navy, a Northern man, held office under censure until the end of the administration. The secretary of the treasury, a secessionist, resigned to join the Confederacy; his successor disapproved of coercion and soon got out. The secretary of the interior also disapproving of coercion resigned. Southern adherents openly promoted rebellion in the nation's capital, and members of the House and Senate resigned, announcing themslves Confederates in arms, and yet remained to plot in Washington during their convenience.

Meanwhile Mr. Lincoln was President-elect, and powerless, patiently waiting for March 4th. Then arose the cry of compromise which received support from all those who feared war and possible severance of the Union. The only compromise acceptable to the South was surrender. Lincoln said but little; what he did say showed that there would be no compromise on his part and his party stood firm behind him. Then was realized the fatal weakness of the Democratic party—the retirement of the Southern members reduced its strength and made impossible the carrying through of any measures of concession to slavery.

The day of Lincoln's inauguration came at last. His inaugural address was conciliatory. He made no threats of putting down the rebellion by force of arms. He called attention to the fact that before his nomination he had declared his conviction that the republic had no right under the Constitution to interfere with slavery within States in which it existed. He expressed his determination to execute the laws, and made an earnest appeal to the seceded States not to allow things to go beyond the stage of civilian administration of law. A little more than a month later the reduction of Fort Sumter was the Southern answer.

Thanks to the four months' interval between the Republican victory at the polls, and the grasping of the reins of government, the South was prepared, the North unprepared. The war dragged, the Union forces met with many defeats, the expenses were enormous, conscription had to be resorted to, and attempts were made to nullify it, a strong anti-war sentiment arose in the North, those four months between election and inauguration had made difficult indeed the Union cause.

Socialists, it is far more important that you be prepared to weather that period, than it was for the Union. Take warning by this impressive lesson from the past, and organize industrially as well as politically.

J. H.

SHEEP KEPT WARMER THAN MEN.

Animals Though Shorn, Are Better Fed and Housed Than City Prisoners.

Seattle, Wash., February 7.—Officers of the Yakima Sheep Company have been on trial for cruelty to animals, in that they sheered sheep in cold weather before shipping. They won their case, basing their defence upon the statement that they had treated their sheep with more consideration than the city had shown for its prisoners in the county jail.

It was brought out that, though the Yakima Company left sufficient wool on the back of the sheep to keep them warm in pens, where the temperature was fifteen degrees higher than outside, the city held men who had not even their underwear to protect their bodies from the cold in a stone jail, whose frosty interior so held the cold as to average colder than the outside. Further, that the sheep of said company were properly fed; whereas the prisoners in this city were so ill-fed as to be admittedly and commonly known.

The arraignment of the authorities by the lawyers for the defence, was a perfect commentary upon the workings of a system wherein profit is the one and final arbiter of all actions, private or official.

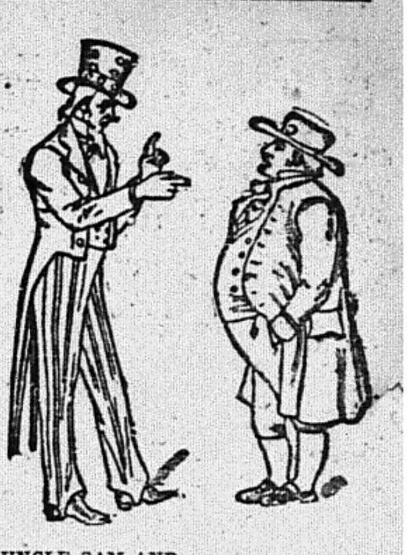
BLOODY SUNDAY IN PETERSBURG.

Berlin, January 27.—The bourgeois press records with satisfaction that the fourth anniversary of Bloody Sunday has passed by in St. Petersburg "quietly."

Factories and works were open and running, the streets retained their every-day appearance, and nothing showed that the St. Petersburg proletariat had on this day received its bloody baptism in the struggle with Czarism.

The holy alliance of police sabers and capital saw to it that no celebration took place. Augmented forces of police were posted at all factories. The St. Petersburg Manufacturers' Association had ordered that all factories celebrating were to be closed at once, and the workers locked out. The employers of the Nevski shipbuilding docks decided the day before the 22nd to stop work 12 o'clock noon. The following day they were informed by the management that the wharves would be closed at once and all men discharged if their resolution was carried out. They therefore altered their decision, and took up, instead, a collection for the unemployed.

Similar resolutions were passed at the Putiloff works, the St. Petersburg Metal Works and other factories. In some factories meetings were held. Only a few smaller establishments celebrated.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

UNCLE SAM—The general discontent—

BROTHER JONATHAN—Bother the general discontent. I call it the general stupidity.

U. S.—You may be right; if people knew what this capitalism means from which they expect a living while it will assuredly deal death to them—

B. J.—That is not what I mean. That's all stuff about capitalism dealing death. What I mean is if people were not so stupid they would know in what way they could improve their condition and turn capitalism to good use.

U. S.—And what is your way?

B. J.—I shall state my way if you have time to listen to me, because I shall want to state systematically.

U. S.—"Systematically" is good; let her rip!

B. J.—We are two here, you and I.

U. S.—That's profoundly true.

B. J.—If there is only one hat produced by us, we could not each have a hat, could we?

U. S.—That's another chunk of unquestionable wisdom.

B. J.—For each to have a hat we must produce two hats, not so?

U. S.—We could not each have one if there were no two hats.

B. J.—Now, that is the A, B, C of the whole question.

U. S.—That seems very simple, but it may be too simple; it is certainly too simple for me.

B. J.—It follows from this A, B, C that all that is needed is to increase production. If we can produce four hats we shall each have two; if we can produce a hundred hats we shall each have fifty—

U. S.—Not so fast.

B. J.—If our people could only increase the amount of the wealth produced, all would be hunky. He who has a million would have two millions; he who has $5,000 would have $10,000; he who has $1,000 would have $2,000; and the poor workingman, who to-day has nothing, would have—

U. S.—Twice as much; twice nothing is nothing.

B. J.—How you talk.

U. S.—Surely not like a booby as you do. Your "system of reasoning amounts to this: The more the workers produce the more they will get" —

B. J.—That's just it.

U. S.—And that is just nonsense. The fact and the reason is just the reverse: "The more the workers produce the less they get."

B. J.—Absurd!

U. S.—What enables the workingman to produce more?

B. J.—The machine.

U. S.—Say that in a room 100 men are at work without the machine and they earn $2 apiece—

B. J.—Very well.

U. S.—A machine is brought in b which 50 men can produce more tha 100 before. Do not these 50 men n turn out more goods?

B. J.—They do.

U. S.—Are the other 50 kept at work?

B. J.—No, they are displaced.

U. S.—As far as these 50 are concerned, to begin with, your "system" falls through; more is produced, and they get nothing, being thrown out of work!

B. J.—Hem.

U. S.—Now, let us return to the 50 who are kept at work.

B. J.—Well, they get something.

U. S.—That is not enough for your "system," they must not only get "something," they must get more than they did before because they are producing more. Now, do they get more?

B. J.—W-e-l-l—

U. S.—No, they don't.

B. J.—But they don't get any less.

U. S.—At first not; later on, yes. The men who are thrown out of work won't starve; they'd rather work for $1 than do nothing and die. So they apply for work at $1. And the result is that, whereas before 100 men were getting $2 a piece, now that the labor in that shop turns out with the machine more than before, 50 of the men get nothing and go tramping, and the other 50 get one-half of what they got before. That is the cause of the discontent.

B. J. remains dumb.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

COMMENDS THE PEOPLE'S EXPOSURE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I must commend you on the article, "Subverting the Movement," in the Weekly People of February 13, which exposes the Florida land adv. appearing in the "Appeal to Reason," and I wish that a similar illuminating paper would be given us on the colonization schemes in California. A friend writes me that 250 acres had been bought there for $25,000 ($100 the acre), $10,00 down and the rest in payments. The investors are for the most part workmen who are saving and have saved about $300. Now the question arises: are these colonists to reap their profits from the orange groves they are purchasing or are they to be lured into investing their savings, and, after the discouragement of their first or second year, to be cast out into the cold?

As the investors are partly Lettish people who do not know the ways and methods of this country, it should be an act of brotherhood to enlighten them, through a public organ, on the subject.

F. Medl.

Brooklyn, N. Y., February 5.

KEEP UP THE PREMIUM OFFER.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find donation for the fund for free books which are given as premiums for subs. to the Weekly People. This fund should be kept up indefinitely. "Understanding is a well spring of life unto him that hath it." Proverbs 16, 22.

L. Ginther.
M. Ferrall.

Colorado Springs, Col., February 6.

APPRECIATION AND PLEA FROM A CHRISTIAN SOCIALIST.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—After reading Axel Staal's letter or article on the Socialist party, I was led to acknowledge, as I have done before, that nothing but the Socialist Labor Party can satisfy the demands of reason and revolution together. I have been reading The People for nearly two years and, although I don't always agree with you, I must say it is the best Socialist organ I have yet read, the best for sheer good sense and reliable economics.

But you are too hard on us who are Christians. I know you don't believe any of us are revolutionary or even sincere in our protests against existing conditions, and most likely my little word will not make you change your opinion. However, for the benefit of the many who read your paper and do some downright hard thinking, I want to say that they need not spurn the comrade who is an honest earnest believer in Jesus of Nazareth.

I know that Christian Socialists, revolutionary ones, are few, and that my position is a unique one. But I am proud and glad to say I am a believer in S. L. P. tactics; that I am convinced it is at present the only organization pledged unreservedly to work for the Social Revolution, even if comrade Daniel De Leon and others will not recognize us as genuine Social Laborites. We need such organs as the Daily and Weekly People, we need such publications as the S. L. P. sends out, we need such speeches, in the main, as S. L. P. men give, we need all this not only in the U. S., but up here in Canada.

When I first heard of Socialism it seemed so unpracticable from the view point of "division" and "equality in financial matters" that I laughed at it. But it was an S. L. P. comrade who enlightened me and laid before me I. W. W. publications that made me glad I had scorned craft unionism as oppressive and opened my eyes to the possibilities of a really practical campaign against capitalism if the united forces of Labor were used.

Not only do we need to learn a great deal about tactics here in Ontario, but in Internationalism we need considerable enlightenment. All honor to the comrades who cried "Yes, yes," to the question as to whether we would admit Chinese to the enjoyment of improved conditions under the Co-operative Commonwealth! Narrowness towards "foreigners and aliens," shown by Christians has proven that they were following the guidance of their own prejudices, not the leadership of Him who said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." Many of our non-British and British comrades, too, are agnostics. Why should we condemn them for that when our own prejudices and inconsistencies have driven them away from Christianity? Don't be so narrow, fellow Christians.

"Then let us pray that come it may
As come it will for a' that
That man to man the world o'er
Shall brothers be for a' that."

Greet your Russian, Italian, Jewish, or Finnish brother man as a human being, not as a beast. "Only a Dago!" How often we have heard that cry over some accident when an unfortunate Italian laborer was the victim of neglect or meanness on the part of an employer. They have not had your advantages. Central Europe has not been a Paradise, and you need not expect angels to emigrate from it.

Look at our own factories, see the poor wage slaves toiling there and watch them go home to the comfortless shacks in Shacktown, Toronto, where the cold and weakness from insufficient food have prevented the wives from trying to make their homes(?) clean and inviting. Ah! now you may see why "foreigners," as you call them are dirty. Put them into totally different surroundings, free them from the yoke of our capitalists, in other words, bring about the Social Revolution and see what a change there will be. You cannot expect a slave to have enterprise, courage, originality. But break his chains and then watch the evolution of spirit and fire, not speedily, but slowly developing in the man.

On these points, economic unity and international unity, some Christian Socialists are positively reactionary. But please try to remember, comrades, that church bondage has prevented the growth of Christliness for centuries. You would be surprised if you could see how much broader in outlook ministers and laity are becoming. They are by no means broad yet, but broader than they were. Don't condemn those who will not even listen to Socialism and claim it is "the work of the devil." They are merely products of the system and don't know anything about what is to them a "new" philosophy.

But there are many of us who cry with all our hearts "workers of the world, unite."

Yours for international unity,
Elizabeth Nesbitt.

Scugog, Canada, February 6.

MR. MOSES BARITZ, A FEW WEEKS IN THE COUNTRY, PROPOSES A NEW PARTY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last Friday evening I met Mr. Moses Baritz at the Rand School. In a few words I will introduce him to the readers of The People.

Moses Baritz is a young man lately arrived from England. He seems to be well acquainted with the labor movement there. I am not a very good judge, but I know that he can speak of the I. L. P., never forget to mention the S. D. P. and inform you that he was a member of the S. P. G. B. Whether these initials are Greek to you he cares little.

Moses Baritz was in the hall of the school building apparently waiting for some one. As I came down the stairs I saw him. We greeted each other. "What do you think of that quibble?" he said to me. He was referring to the incident of two days previous at Arlington Hall. Those who have not attended De Leon's lecture on "Who Pays the Taxes" will wonder what it was about. The matter, shortly, was this. A gentleman asking a question wanted to know if the lecturer did not believe that capital was as necessary for production as the natural resources and labor? De Leon answered that "Capital" was not necesary for production; that what was necesary for production was, besides Labor and natural resources, the tool and machinery or plant of production; and that the latter was Capital only under a system of private ownership. Do away with such private ownership and you have no capital. Baritz objected to this, and De Leon called the objection a quibble. The hall was to be vacated at a certain hour. The audience dispersed. Baritz, who called De Leon's answer a quibble, and a few men who were interested to know what he called a quibble were left. What was said in that circle I cannot tell. But when Baritz spoke to me about it he was still of the opinion that De Leon should in a few minutes have given a lecture defining capital as a part of wealth invested for the exploitation of labor, as different from wealth or objects of esteemed value that one may possess. "The man is mad," said Mr. Baritz, "to stand up and insult me before the audience. I intended to apply for membership to the S. L. P., but now I would not touch it with a pitchfork. I say the man is a tyrant and a disrupter. Why can't a man like De Leon at a free lecture draw an audience to fill Cooper Union? Why, how many fill Arlington Hall—about three hundred?"

I said I did not know, and it made no difference. Thereupon he said: "Miss Solomon, you will make a good S. L. P. member, but not a good Socialist." I asked: "Why?" "Because," Mr. Baritz said, "you recognize and respect De Leon's individual superiority, while I only recognize his intellectual superiority." "If you do that," I said, "and are a man of principle, why indulge in personalities?" Again Mr. Baritz started to say De Leon was this and that. "Friend," said I, "you are only here a few weeks and you have already acquired the terminology of the Socialist party men as far as De Leon is concerned." Mr. Baritz was offended. "No, I have not," he said; "the Socialist party is not at all a party of Socialism. It is a reform party. The Socialist Labor Party only is correct in principle, but they don't make any headway on account of the people who are in it. The Socialist party is no good; the S. L. P. I will not touch with a pitchfork. I have canceled my two engagements to speak for it. I have taken back the article of seven columns which I wrote to The People on the Labor Movement in England. I will not touch the S. L. P. with a pitchfork. I say, seeing that the two parties are no good, there is a chance for a third party." I laughed. "You laugh at it!" Baritz said, "You'll never make a good Socialist. Woodhouse does not laugh at it. You know Woodhouse; he is a fine man. He was a member of the S. P. G. B., the party I was a member of. He is one of the founders of that party. I say there is a possibility of another party of Socialism. That is, I am not exactly going to start it myself. But if we can get a few fellows to think right and join we will surely have one."

We talked about other things which I should like to mention, but am afraid of making this letter too long. Notice how it does not take a would-be mischief-maker more than a few weeks to know all about the Labor Movement in America; decide that it is incorrect and corrupt; and resolve to start a new movement. God speed.

To my dear comrades I would say: Do right and fear no one. The principles of the S. L. P. are like oil on the water, they cannot be put down.

Mary Solomon.

New York, February 7.

WISHES LONG LIFE TO THE PEOPLE

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I am now a reader of The People for several years standing and, like Comrade Allan of Manchester, Eng., would feel there was something wrong if I had to go without my People. Indeed, to paraphrase a well known advertisement, I would not be happy without it. To The People I am indebted for first drawing my attention to the importance of economic organization, prior to which I was a pure and simple political Socialist, the latter perhaps being accounted for by the fact that I belong to that section of the workers which constitute the great bulk in all capitalist countries, viz., those who are ushered into the world and who, without any "special qualification" of any kind have to adapt themselves to any and every circumstance that comes this way. What The People has done for me it can do for others, and trust it will long be spared to carry on the good work of political and economic education of the working class of America. A. Laurie.

Dundee, Scotland, February 1.

MALLOCK'S FRIENDS UPSETTING HIM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The January number of the official Bulletin of the Merchants' Association of New York contains a resolution adopted by the Board of Directors of that Association at their meeting on January 21st, the important paragraphs of which are as follows:

"Whereas, the great increase in the use of express transportation by merchants, made compulsory by business conditions, has made the item of express charges a serious burden in the expense accounts of all merchants, and

"Whereas, an analysis of available data tends to show that the express rates charged by express companies yield a net profit excessively disproportionate to the amount of capital actually employed for the purpose of express transportation,

"Resolved that the rules, regulations, methods and practices of express companies should be so amended as to abolish just cause of complaint; and that the rates charged by express companies should be so adjusted as to yield no more than a liberal profit upon the capital actually required for the efficient operation of the service and in addition thereto such sums as should reasonably be set aside as a reserve for contingencies."

All will remember how Professor Mallock was brought to this country to teach that "capital is productive, not in virtue of any quality inherent in itself, but because it is the reins by which the exceptional ability of the few guides the labor, skilled and unskilled, of the many." How utterly futile it seems, at first blush, for the capitalists to bring Mallock here to prate about Ability being the source of profit, and then to pass such resolutions as the above declaring that profit is graft apportioned according to the capital holdings of the grafters. It must not be lost sight of, however, that Mallock's talks were for the "education" of the workers, whereas the resolutions quoted above are strictly for business, and their circulation is practically confined to business circles.

Typist.

New York, February 8.

SWEDISH SOCIALISTS IN SEATTLE RUN SOCIAL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The Swedish Section of the Socialist Labor Party here has taken a new idea in propaganda by which they hope to increase their membership.

Their organizer, A. Anderson, proposed a social club. This club was to be organized by S. L. P. men in the Swedish Section; and thus given a groundwork of revolutionary purpose. The gaiety of pleasure was to be freely mixed with the sobering gravity of education, in order to reach the multitude and drive home a sober idea. It was projected that all meetings of the club should be open to the public, with everybody invited; that the program for every Sunday evening should include an address in Scandinavian on the purposes of the society, another in like tongue touching the need of becoming class-conscious proletarians; an educational lecture in English; a musical program between addresses. After one and a half or two hours thus devoted to music and oratory, the hall floor was to be cleared and a dance held.

Thanks to the hard work of Comrade Anderson, whose enthusiasm for hammer blows never flags, the social club was launched with its first meeting a success on January 24, in Maccabee Hall. Members of the English Section helped wherever able, supplying some English addresses, readings, and poetry. A large crowd attended; enjoyed the full program, and listened attentively to the propaganda contained in the addresses. There were twice as many men as women when it came time to dance; but between those men who could not dance, or would not through the perversity of the genus homo, the other men not born late or burdened with bashfulness, filled the floor. The ladies seemed to enjoy the hours that flitted by and surely that is enough to satisfy any gallant cavalier of the trowel or the spade.

A collection paid all expenses for the hall. The thing is started and we are going to make it go. E. H. Fogerty.

Seattle, Wash., February 6.

THE WEEKLY PEOPLE STIRS CANAL ZONE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Several towns in the Canal Zone are at present in the throes of a severe shake-up due to the entrance of the Weekly People. Old "Appealers," "Rip Sawmutts," and Wilshire stockholders, are particularly susceptible. Patients, when seized with an attack develop a wild hysteria, hair and whiskers being torn out in bunches and wantonly tossed about in the air. The germ has in every case been traced to the editorial and other columns of the Weekly People, a copy of which has carelessly been left lying in the patient's room.

The best known remedy, however, and one that seldom fails, is continued application of the Weekly People. It never fails to reduce the hysteria, and in the end saves the remains of the whiskers.

H. Cody.

Cristobal, C. Z., February 3.

The Differences
BETWEEN THE
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AND THE
Socialist Labor Party
ALSO BETWEEN
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AND
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THOUGHTS AND THINGS

By H. S. K.

Freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeath'd by bleeding sire to son,
Though baffled oft, is ever won.
—Byron.

We are getting a glimmer of what is going on in Russia, but on the whole we are better posted on events which took place ages before the existence of the human race than we are with present day events in Russia—and our own?

One thing, however, stands out clear: Czarism, and all that thereby hangs, is determined to smother in blood the aspirations of the Russian people.

Political agitation proscribed; the hangman working overtime; imprisonment and exile for thousands; conspiracy and counter conspiracy hatched, how will the atmosphere ever be cleared of it all until the red flame of Revolution does its work?

Popular meetings suppressed; revolutionary leaders exiled or jailed; the police spy and the whip of the Cossack representing "Law and Order," there is nothing left to the Russian lovers of liberty but to work in secret association.

Czarism's mandate is rot in slavery or rot in chains. Denied political expression, denied all right of protest the people are driven to conspire. As Marx well said: "He is a coward that under certain circumstances would not conspire, just as he is a fool who, under other circumstances would do so."

Circumstances in Russia dictate the character of the struggle there—it must be underground. Circumstances here dictate just the opposite—the struggle here must be open and above board.

In reading a sketch of the life of Captain James Cook, the celebrated navigator, I was struck with the fact that he owed his death to his lack of comprehension of savage character. The savages of the South Pacific Ocean gave Cook much trouble by pilfering. He had some of them whipped as an example to the rest. They could not comprehend it at all. Stealing was not violating any ethic with them. At last a boat having been stolen Captain Cook with a few men went on shore to recover it, and was killed by the savages of Hawaii. "Property is the creature of society," said Franklin justly.

George L. Ware, a Boston stock broker, has addressed an open letter to President McCrea of the Pennsylvania Railroad, asking permission to present to the directors a plan he has for a wider distribution of a contemplated bond issue by the road. He argues that his plan would mean more money in hand for the road, and better relations between the railroad and the people. To read it all one would think Mr. Ware concerned only in bringing about universal happiness, but the fact of the matter is that the Wares are being shut out by the underwriting syndicates and large bond houses who dispose of railroad and large corporation bond issues.

The aim of many a man's patriotism consists in making money for himself.

A writer in The Lancet (London) says that while modern mechanical devices place great strain upon us, he sees hope in the power of the human body to adapt itself to new environment, so that in time to come we shall be hardened against such things. That time, we may observe, will not be until modern ingenuity is utilized for man's benefit, instead of, as now, for his enslavement.

Free trade and protection. This is an issue that does not concern the workers. The worker is robbed in the shop. In free trade and protection shops alike. Both are capitalist, and capitalism means robbery of the workers.

There will be much laudation of Abraham Lincoln for a few days by the capitalist lickspittles, but his homely words will haunt them all as the handwriting on the wall: "You cannot fool all of the people all the time."

NEW BUTTONS.

We have a new style of emblem button, red enameled, gold finish, at 50 cents each.

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LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

C. P., SAN F'CO, CALIF.—Now to your second question—

Without the physical force to enforce them all ballots are dishclouts. The physical force back of the capitalist ballot is the brute and destructive force of the bayonet. No such physical force is available to the proletariat. Such physical force would be contrary to its mission. Read the pamphlet "As to Politics." The only physical force available, and all-sufficient, to the proletariat is the integrally organized industrial and class-conscious Union. An organization in that form and of that stamp is a mighty force.

Next question next week.

"STUDENT," LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Now to your last question—

We do not know, but think it not unlikely, that Proudhon was a member of the International Workingman's Association.

J. B., PASADENA, CALIF.—Now to your second question—

In sociology no more than in biology is there such a thing as a sharp line where one thing ends and another begins. Some workingmen have a little bank account, or own a house, mortgaged or otherwise, in which they take lodgers,—to that extent they cease to be of the proletariat; some employers of labor have to hitch themselves to their wage slaves,—to that extent they cease to be capitalists. And so on. There are "connecting links" between the classes proper. The line of class-cleavage runs between those who have nothing to sell but their labor-power (proletaires) and those who live by selling other things (capitalists). Whether the business of the latter go bad or good, cuts no figure.

Next question next week.

V. C., VANCOUVER, B. C.—Now to your fourth question—

A working class political party could not very well endure "a craft union which works in the interests of Democratic or Republican politicians." Not even the Australian Labor party does that.

Next question next week.

D. B. M., GRANITE FALLS, OKLA.—Now to your second question—

Slavery was certainly profitable to the slave holding class. Look at the prancing wealth of the Southern slave-holders. Of course, chattel slavery is not as profitable as wage slavery. But the slave-holder did not yet have the capital to start industrial plants with, hence he resisted abolitionism.

Next question next week.

R. R., ROCHESTER, PA.—Now to your third question—

You are right. The Socialist party does not represent any economic interests. It cannot be said to represent any because the interests it is run in obedience to are neither the interests of the property-holding class, nor the interests of the property-less class. It is run obedient to the interests of the "intellectuals"—a frayed, or ashbarrel class of seekers after offices, within and without the party.

Next question next week.

W. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W.—Now to your last question—

The S. L. P. members of the I. W. W. did not and had no occasion to withdraw from the I. W. W. They are now in the I. W. W., the only I. W. W. in existence; the body that stands by the I. W. W. Preamble, and rejects Anarchy as the I. W. W. did from the start.

F. M. H., SAN JOSE, CALIF.—Anybody who advocates pure and simple physical force, or fraternizes with those who do, puts his neck into the noose. We admit we know more than one who ought to be there. All the same, we decline the "martyrdom;" and shall do our level best to save all others the woeful experience.

D. L. B., LINCOLN, ILL.—1. Fewer words and more facts.

2. Read up on the ostrich. The fact is not removed because the ostrich shutteth his eyes to it.

A. S., PHILADELPHIA, PA.—The article on taxation was written by order of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party. It expressed the views of the S. L. P. on taxation then, and now. Taxes are paid by the capitalist class out of that portion of the wealth produced by Labor that Labor never pockets, but which is plundered from Labor by the system of wage slavery.

J. O., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—People's Choral Union, Cooper Union, N. Y.

C. L., ELBERTA, PA.—There is no difference between what capitalists of any party do and what individual Socialist party men do when they start a paper. When Republican capitalists start a paper, none but Republicans are allowed as stockholders; when Democratic capitalists start a paper they take in only Democrats as stockholders. But after the stock is owned the Republicans may turn Democrats, and the Democrats may turn Republican—and they turn their paper as they turned. This is an inevitable consequence of private ownership. And so, originally Republican papers have became Democratic and vice versa. Likewise with the S. P. stockholders of the so-called "S. P. press." Of course they start as S. P. men. But there is no guarantee they will remain so. Though they may change, their property remains with them. A privately owned press is like a man's coat. The coat may cover an S. P. man today, and to-morrow an anti-S. P. man. There is no safety except in party ownership. That the S. P. know that transpires from their persistent attempt at the flim flam that only S. P. men are allowed to buy stock. They never go on to say what will happen if that S. P. stockholder leaves the party.

J. M. F., DU QOIN, ILL.—Get facts straight. Senator Jeff Davis of Arkansas did not deliver his speech on January 22. On that day he did not speak at all.

Next question next week.

C. C., CHICAGO, ILL.—"A. M. Simons, Editor," would to-morrow storm against the A. F. of L. and warble the praises of the I. W. W. if he thought the tide had set in in that direction. He has done so before. The gentleman belongs to the breed that "howls with the wolves and runs with the hares."

O. H. W., CINCINNATI, O.—There is not one of these capitalist writers on economics worth reading. They are merchants whose main stock is littleness.

ALL OTHERS—next week.

A. D., PHILA., PA.; J. H., TORONTO, CAN.; E. S., BOSTON, MASS.; J. W., TRENTON, N. J.; A. D. A., PAWTUCKET, R. I.; E. A. C., AUBURN, N. Y.; J. N. B., VANCOUVER, B. C.; J. M. C., BELLINGHAM, WASH.; H. H. L., NEW HAVEN, CONN.; R. F. S., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—Matter received.

"The People"
Official Organ of and Owned by the
Australian Socialist League and Socialist Labor Party.

A Weekly Paper published for the purpose of spreading Socialist Principles and organizing Socialist Thought. Its mission is to educate and prepare the working class for the approaching day of their emancipation from wage slavery; to point the way to class-conscious organization for economic and political action that the days of capitalist bondage might be quickened unto the dead things of the past.

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Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch.
Socialism and Philosophy, Labriola
Essays Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.

OFFICIAL

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Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
28 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtenay,
144 Duchess Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

NOTICE TO SECTIONS.

In accord with the action of the membership in passing the following resolution: "To introduce in the Party a system of uniform book-keeping," this office has prepared a system of book-keeping composed of Section Ledger and Cash Book, which is now on the press. The set may be purchased at sixty cents, postage paid. The amended Constitution is also on the press. Advance orders are now requested for the above-mentioned supplies, and cash must accompany all orders.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

February 5, 1909.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

A regular meeting of the above committee was held at National Headquarters, on Wednesday evening, February 10th, with the following members present: Gollerstepper, Lechner, Kihn, Hanlon, Rosenberg, Lafferty, Hall. Absent and excused: Ball and Schwartz. Absent without excuse: Hammer, Malmberg Deutsch, Schrafft, Oatley, and Butterworth.

Gollerstepper upon request was excused form attendance at last meeting.

The minutes of the previous session were read and adopted as read.

Financial Report for two weeks ending February 6th: Receipts $8.70; expenditures $61.23.

Reports of Committees: The committee on style of the amended Constitution reported that 3,000 copies had been ordered at a cost of $46, and that 1,000 Constitutions printed in the German language would cost $46.

The matter of attendance of members of the committee was brought to the attention of the committee by Secretary Rosenberg. It was moved by Rosenberg and seconded by Hanlon that the National Secretary be instructed to notify Hammer and Oatley, that their absence from the next session will necessitate their being dropped from the N. E. C. Sub-Committee. Carried.

Correspondence: From Section Newport News, Va., sending financial report for the last six months. Section Tacoma, Wash., requesting that important and selected articles taken from the Daily and Weekly People be published yearly in bound volumes. It was moved by Kihn and seconded by Hanlon that the Tacoma request be referred to the Press Committee; carried. J. Bobinsky, Chicago, Ill., giving and requesting information regarding Party matters; answered and filed. Section New York's amendment to the Constitution having been published in The People as required by the Constitution, was ordered sent to the Sections of the Party to be voted upon. Section Spokane Wash. regarding conditions in that city, published in The People and filed. The National Secretary read a circular letter which was sent out to the Party Sections by the manager of The People, and approved by by him. It was moved by Kihn and seconded by Lechner that the action of the National Secretary be endorsed. Carried. Virginia S. E. C., regarding Party Press and literature, and sending financial report. Pennsylvania S. E. C. regarding organization in New Brighton, Pa., and requesting information. J. W. McAlarney, Juniata, Pa., and Charles Larson, Elberta, Pa. requesting information for use in organization in their locality; answered and field. G. H. Fryhoff, Mystic, Ia., reporting results of his efforts in behalf of organization of the S. L. P. in that locality; answered and filed. P. Friesema, Jr., Detroit, Mich., regarding Party Press, and financial matters. Lockhart M. Gordon Hamilton, Ont., Canada, requesting lecture date with De Leon as speaker; answered that February 22nd is granted them; letter filed. George E. Donkin, Toronto, Ont., Canada, regarding completion of arrangements for the De Leon lectures; answered and filed. August Gillhaus, St. Louis, Mo., reporting favorable results of agitation and organization in the State of Missouri. The National Secretary called the attention of the committee to the necessity of devising ways and means to inaugurate a new plan for a National Agitation Fund. It was moved by Hanlon and seconded by Kihn that a committee of three be elected to prepare plans for the National Agitation Fund; carried. The following members were elected to serve on the aforementioned committee; Kihn, Ball and Hanlon.

The committee discussed the matter of "Pure and Simple" Trade Union "Chinese Wall" of restrictions. It was moved by Hanlon and seconded by Kihn that the question of gathering material for a pamphlet containing data pertaining to "Pure and Simple" Trade Unions, be referred to the Press Committee. Carried. Adjournment 10.20 p. m.

Max Rosenberg, Secretary.

NOTICE TO TORONTO.

Workingmen: Daniel De Leon, editor of the Daily and Weekly People of New York, will lecture SATURDAY, Feb. 20, 7:30 p. m., in Victoria Hall.

Subject: "Unionism." Everybody should attend to hear him as he is the best exponent of Socialism on the American continent.

Come early and bring your friends. Questions will be called for. Admission 15c.

DE LEON IN HAMILTON, ONTARIO.

The subject of Daniel De Leon's lecture in Hamilton, Ont., on February 22, will be "Socialism and Industrial Unionism."

The lecture will be held at Kennedy's Hall, corner James and Robert streets, at 8 p. m.

BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM LECTURES.

The following public lectures by Socialists and non-Socialists will be held under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum of Section Erie County, S. L. P., every Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, at Florence Parlors, 527 Main street. An instructive general discussion follows each lecture. All readers of this paper are invited to attend and bring friends. Admission is free.

Schedule:

February 21.—Dr. Thomas H. McKee on "Relation of Workingmen to the Social Evil."

February 28.—Boris Reinstein on "Slum Elements and Slum Tactics in a Revolutionary Movement."

March 7.—John Shillady on "Postal Censorship of the Press and Mails."

March 14.—Attorney Arthur W. Hickman on "Government."

March 21.—Boris Reinstein on "Paris Commune and the Lessons It Teaches."

DETROIT LECTURES.

The Socialist Labor Party of Detroit holds free lectures Sunday afternoons, 2:30 o'clock, at 73 Gratiot avenue. Instructive and important subjects are discussed. Workingmen should attend.

SUNDAY, February 28. Speaker, J. Kortan. Subject: "The Class Struggle."

LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.

The Socialist Labor Party will give a series of lectures this winter at their headquarters, 1717 South Broadway, second floor, St. Louis. Lectures begin at 2:30 p. m.

February 21—Reform or Revolution?

March 7—The Difference between the Socialist party and the Socialist Labor Party.

March 21—Does the Socialist party Represent the Interests of the Working Class?

Discussions after each lecture. Admission free.

CHICAGO SOCIALIST MEETING.

A Socialist meeting under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party will be held on SUNDAY, February 21, 2:30 p. m., at Buschman's Hall, 574 Armitage avenue, corner Campbell avenue, Chicago.

Good speakers will address the meeting.

CHICAGO COMMUNE CELEBRATION.

A grand commune festival in commemoration of the Paris Commune will be held under the auspices of the allied Branches of the Socialist Labor Party (Section Cook County), at Workman's Hall, 12th and Waller streets, Chicago, SUNDAY, March 14, 1909, at 3 p. m. Good speakers in all languages. Tickets twenty-five cents a person.

Massachusetts State Executive Committee of the S. L. P. and Section Boston,
have jointly arranged for a table at the
Scandinavian Socialist Club Fair
to be held in
MINOT HALL
cor. West Springfield and Washington Sts., Boston.
February 18, 19, 20, and 22

Readers of The People are invited. Literature agent will be present.

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

OPERATING FUND.

We are glad to see that some of our friends realize the fact that a labor paper such as The People, needs, and must have, financial support over and above its ordinary receipts. At times such support, for one reason or another, becomes lessened, and then we are compelled to call the attention of our friends to the to the financial needs of the paper, and never, we are glad to say, without some response. Remember these calls for funds are due to no fault of ours, they are in fact due to the inactivity of our members and friends—give us 500 Weekly People subs every week, and the need for this fund vanishes. Meanwhile we must repeat our former slogan: Send subs or send funds.

G. Fauser, Detroit, Mich.	$ 2.00
F. Hitchcock, Detroit, Mich.	.10
H. Richter, Detroit, Mich.	1.00
E. W. Collins, Valleyford, Wash	3.00
F. Lucas, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Section Louisville, Ky.	1.75
E. Moonelis, New York	1.00
H. Spettal, Erie, Pa.	1.75
Henry Engel, Lynn, Mass.	1.00
John Lessell, Panama	2.00
S. Warju, "	1.00
L. Warju "	1.00
E. Felis "	1.00
J. Brennan "	2.00
3, 6 and 10 A. D., New York	3.00
Total	$ 22.60
Previously acknowledged	3,549.52
Grand total	$3,572.12

PRESENTS RECEIVED FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR.

We are pleased to announce that things are beginning to look bright now for the success of the Bazaar and Fair at Grand Central Palace next Sunday.

Presents have been coming in at a rapid gait the last few days and we hope that the Party members and sympathizers will keep it up the remaining days before the affair.

We herewith acknowledge receipt of the following additional presents:

Mrs. H. Borho, New Haven, Conn., fancy whisk-broom holder, head rest, fancy pin cushion, three fancy bags; E. Aiazzone, West Hoboken, N. J., fine framed picture; John Skramorsky, Elizabeth, N. J., one dozen Ideal Clothesline Fasteners; B. Mazanak, city, bronze table gas lamp; Mrs. F. N. Hitchcock, Hamtranck, Mich., sofa pillow; Mrs. A. Orange, city, two fine sofa pillows, three pin boxes, three cord boxes, three glove boxes; Mrs. B. Thome, city, several fine articles; Mrs. S. G. Peterson, Worcester, Mass., four fancy scissors belts; E. Brodsky, Brooklyn, N. Y., four bottles of quinine hair tonic; E. Sherman, Rockville, Conn., trousers pattern; F. W. Kunze, Brooklyn, N. Y., candle stick, two cake plates, four cups and saucers, two shaving mugs, pin tray, four figures, and vase; J. Reibel, Birmingham, Ala., four ladies' belts, hatpin holder, handmade lace handkerchief, hair receiver, lady's tie, set of pin-balls, safety pinholder for baby, two bill holders; Miss Marie Hawthorn, Birmingham, Ala., cash donation, 25 cents; From Philadelphia, Pa., as follows: B. Haug, drawing instrument, seven pot scrapers for kitchen; M. Schoenfeld, 50 cigars; George Anton and A. Mullen, some books; Louis Chun, cash donation of one dollar; Paul Chun, cash donation of of one dollar; Charles Heine, cash donation of three dollars; James Simpson, cash donation of 25 cents; J. Cody, cash donation 25 cents; James Erwin, cash donation 25 cents; Joseph Hain, Brooklyn, N. Y., package patent hatpin fasteners; M. Davidowitz, city, books; Miss J. Carliph, Brooklyn, N. Y., fancy pin cushion, two ladies' hair combs, ladies' fancy collars, children's dining set; Mrs. Loven, Brooklyn, N. Y., fish globe; Miss Louise Loven, Brooklyn, N. Y., arm garters; Miss Mary Loven, china bowl; Miss Anna Voelker, pair of scissors; S. Moskowitz, ink stand; Mrs. B. Touroff, city, fine sofa pillow, fancy head rest and pin cushion; Gerstel, city, two dozen novelty articles; Klawansky, 3rd, 6th-10th A. D.'s, three dozen souvenir postal cards; L. Goldberg, four men's cloth caps; From Hartford, Conn., Clara L. Breuer, fine sofa pillow, eight iron holders; Sophia Maier, Hartford, Conn., centre piece; B. Beller, two framed pictures of Daniel De Leon.

L. Abelson.
L. Abelson, Organizer.
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CAPITALIST, VERSUS THE S. L. P. PRESS

THE PURPOSE OF THE ONE IS TO PROMOTE IGNORANCE, OF THE OTHER, TO SHED THE LIGHT.

The capitalist press is conducted upon the same principles as a bologna factory. The bologna maker looks to profits, and if he can add to profits by the use of stale meat, or horse meat, spiced and colored to fool the purchaser, it is business. So it is with the capitalist newspapers. They do not seek to promote that which would benefit the people; they only publish what will benefit their class, the capitalist class.

It takes a gigantic income to support a big capitalist daily. The receipts from the sales of the paper are but a drop in the bucket. There must be other support. There must be advertising and other subsidies. In order to get capitalist support the capitalist daily must have a big circulation. A big circulation makes it of use to advertisers, and it also determines its worth to those who give out the subsidies. The greater the number of people it can fool, the greater the capitalist support of such a paper.

The capitalist press at all times speaks of itself as expressing public opinion, while as a matter of fact it manufactures that which passes for public opinion. I was told by a newspaper man that the paper that did not gratify public taste could not succeed. What the capitalist idea of public taste is may be learned by considering the quality of stuff dished out by the papers of greatest circulation.

It has been said that it would bankrupt any capitalist to try and run a paper that was designed to contribute to the instruction or improvement of mankind. Such a paper, it is claimed, would not be read. Perhaps not at once, for it must not be forgotten that for generations the people have been mentally fed on the husks of capitalist journalism. Then again, though run by a capitalist, such a paper, if we can imagine it a possibility, could hardly be classed as a capitalist paper, the essential purpose of which is to promote ignorance and not knowledge.

In no way that the subject may be viewed can we imagine capitalist papers other than as we see them—as profit-making enterprises, partaking of the characteristics of capitalism, from the exploitation of employes, to swindling, through spreading abroad erroneous ideas, and juggling with facts.

The Socialists, alone, want for themselves, and for the general benefit of the people, newspaper reading of a superior class, in which facts, knowledge and reason shall be the determining factors. They must pay for it. Little or no advertising can be looked for, capitalist subsidies cannot be accepted. This is the position of the Socialist Labor Party, which through experiences, made long since, realized that only in the policy of Party ownership of the press could such ideals be safeguarded. The Socialist party, on the other hand, holds to what it terms the "freedom" of the press, by permitting its papers to be privately owned. Thus owned it is inevitable that the S. P. papers take on capitalist characteristics, and being the dominant business interest in that party they run it, and exploit it, just as the plutocracy run and exploit the government. The S. L. P. owns and runs its press; the S. P. is owned and run by its privately owned press.

The S. L. P. press being the property of the Party has behind it the Party organization determined to keep it up without pandering to frivolous pursuits and other perverted instincts, the product of capitalist journalism. On the other hand we see the privately owned S. P. press, grown greater in number than its party membership can sustain, striving eagerly for advertising, and other financial support, sacrificing all sense of obligation to the movement as it bids for circulation in the orthodox capitalist way, by pushing to the front what it conceives to be popular things, and almost forcing out of sight altogether what little of Socialism it ever had.

The power of the Press is undeniable; the direction of that power does not today, however, rest with the public, excepting in the case of the S. L. P. press. We of the S. L. P. appreciate the higher endeavors of our press, and while we may to-day be comparatively few in numbers, yet by combining our efforts, and by our activity, we make up for what we lack in numbers. As Wendell Phillips said: "Give me 50,000 men in earnest, who can agree on vital questions, who will plant their shoulders together, and swear by all that is true that for the long years they will put their great idea before the country, and those 50,000 men will win."

Times of great moment are before us. We know what to expect from the capitalist press when vast questions come before the people: their policy will be to mislead, to distort, to decry, to turn the vital questions into topics for vulgar clamor, personal slander, or attempt to deride them with wretched attempts at humor and wit by their penny-a-liners. Often they will ignore them altogether, and instead will give elaborate space and pictures to prize fights, horse races, bloody murders, and rotten scandals, all in the name of "public taste."

I sometimes think that we of the S. L. P. do not blow our own trumpet enough, do not push forward as we should. We know, and become self-satisfied. We must see to it that the light of our knowledge is brought to those who don't know. I, for one, am a firm believer in the general tendency of the working class to mental improvement. Were it not so well might we despair. The S. L. P. is splendidly equipped for propaganda work, and we have the consciousness of being on the right road. Now, then, is the time for a grand effort all along the line.

Our duty is not done when we have paid the cent or two cents for the Party papers. We must get others to join with us in the march. This work of propaganda is far more important now than the election of candidates. We must gather about us as many adherents as well directed efforts can collect. Let those who never procured a reader, do it now, and those who have procured them procure the more.

J. H.

S. L. P. SUPPLIES.

National Constitutions, containing also the platform of the S. L. P., and declared resolutions, per 100	$2.00
Red membership cards, containing also a record of transfers, per 100	.50
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bers in arrears, per 100	.30
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Delinquency blanks, which make easy the work of the Financial Secretary when notifying mem- Candidates' resignation blanks, provided for in Article XI., Section 8, of the Party Constitution, per 100	.30
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BUSINESS NOTES

With the issue of Sunday, February 21, the Daily People will contain the initial instalment of Sue's "The Iron Collar." The romantic, historical, and, withal educational features of this grand work together with the many socio-political articles that are to appear during the period of February 21 to May 20, will appeal to every member of the workingman's family. Call the attention of your shopmate to these special features of our Press and induce him to subscribe for three months. The one dollar it costs him will be well invested.

Those sending in two subs or more:

Fred Brown, Cleveland, Ohio	13
I. H. Nosovitch, Mt. Vernon, Wash.	3
Robt. Strach, San Antonio, Tex.	2
A. Kaucher, St. Louis, Mo.	5
Section Minneapolis, Minn.	2
B. Frankford, Oakland, Cal.	2
J. W. Stewart, Tucson, Ariz.	3
W. Taylor, Worcester, Mass.	3
Section Detroit, Mich.	2
H. Richter, Detroit, Mich.	3
H. Johnson, Minneapolis, Minn.	2
A. Gillhaus	5
C. A. Ruby, Rochester, N. Y.	2
J. Isaack, Cincinnati, Ohio	3
E. Schade, Newport News, Va.	2
F. Bombach, Jamaica Plain, Mass.	4
Oscar Freer, Columbus, Ohio	2
H. Cody, Cristobal, Panama	16
J. Brennan, Empire, Panama	3
John Steiger, Hamilton, Ohio	2
C. H. Tobin, N. Attleboro, Mass.	3
12th and 14th A. D.'s, New York	2
C. E. Warner, New Haven, Conn.	3
E. J. Riddell, Hardwick, Vt.	3
H. Johnson, Juniata, Pa.	2
W. H. O'Brien, Woburn, Mass.	3
W. H. Peak, Pittsburg, Pa.	2
W. L. Kolkmeier, St. Charles, Mo.	5
J. Reibel, Birmingham, Ala.	3
Chas. Pierson, Chicago, Ill.	2
H. H. Lane, New Haven, Conn.	2

N. L. LABOR NEWS CO.

Has procured a limited number of Edwin Markham's poem "The Man with the Hoe," beautifully gotten up, containing a photograveur of the original painting by Jean Francois Millet and also the facsimile of the author's first rough draft. At fifty cents a copy this would be a decided bargain. We are closing them out at twenty cents per copy, postage prepaid, while they last. Make sure that your library be not without this literary masterpiece.

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